

JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Summer-Winter 2002

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GUEST EDITOR

Roman Senkus



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Volume 27, Numbers 1–2

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SPECIAL ISSUE
in Memory of Danylo Husar Struk

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Danylo Husar Struk (1940–99)
Photographed in Toronto, February 1999

Introduction

This special issue is dedicated to the memory of Danylo Husar Struk, who died much too soon, on 19 June 1999 in Munich, Germany, after suffering a heart attack.

Danylo was born on 5 April 1940 in Lviv. His father, Evstakhii (Ostap), the director of the Lviv Medical Institute, was brutally murdered by the NKVD in a Lviv prison when Danylo was fourteen months old. After the Second World War, Danylo and his mother, Daria, were postwar refugees in a displaced-persons camp in American-occupied Germany. There his mother remarried, and in December 1949 Danylo emigrated with his mother and stepfather, Vasyl Husar, to New Jersey. After graduating with a bachelor's degree from Harvard University in 1963, Danylo pursued a master's degree in Ukrainian literature at the University of Alberta. In 1964 he began his doctoral studies in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Toronto, and in 1970 he defended his dissertation there on the prose of Vasyl Stefanyk. From 1967 until his untimely death, Danylo developed and taught many of that department's Ukrainian language and literature courses as a lecturer (1967–70), assistant professor (1971–76), associate professor (1976–82), and professor (1982–99).

Danylo spent much of his sabbatical of 1980–81 in Paris and at the centre of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Western Europe (NTSh) in nearby Sarcelles helping Prof. Volodymyr Kubijovyč prepare entries for *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva* and volume 1 of the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (EU), the main project of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) for many years. In November 1982 Danylo replaced Prof. George S. N. Luckyj as the managing editor of the EU. In 1989, after he had successfully overseen the publication of volumes 1–2, Danylo succeeded the late Prof. Kubijovyč as the EU's editor in chief. He devoted time and effort beyond the call of duty to ensuring that all five volumes of the EU were written, edited, and published by 1993. For nearly seventeen years Danylo was, to quote Frank Sysyn, "the heart and soul of the EU. Without his dedication, it is hard to imagine how the original project would have been completed."

From 1990 Danylo was also associate director of the CIUS in charge of its Toronto Office at the University of Toronto. That office has housed the editorial staff of the *EU* since 1977, the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* from 1976 to 1985 and again since 1993, and the CIUS Press since 1992. For his contributions to Ukrainian studies, Danylo was elected a full member of the NTSh in 1988 and a foreign member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in 1992. He also served as vice-president (1990–91) and president (1991–92) of the Canadian Association of Slavists. As president of the NTSh in Western Europe from May 1997, in the last two years of his life he devoted much time and energy raising funds for the creation of a French institute of Ukrainian studies based at the NTSh building in Sarcelles, to maintaining and upgrading the latter's facilities, and to computerizing the NTSh library's catalogue.

After the publication of volumes 3–5 of the *EU* in 1993, Danylo supervised the preparation of an index volume by Andrij Makuch and co-ordinated the writing of entries for a planned sixth volume by the *EU*'s subject editors. He intended to accelerate the editorial work on this volume after his return to Toronto in August 1999 from his summer sojourn in Europe. Upon his return he was also supposed to assume chairmanship of the Slavic department for five years, during which he hoped he would ensure a secure future for the Ukrainian language-and-literature program at the University of Toronto. With his death, Ukrainian studies in the English-speaking world, the CIUS, and the NTSh in Western Europe suffered a major loss.

Danylo's ashes are preserved in the NTSh plot at the Sarcelles cemetery. He is sorely missed by his wife Oksana, his mother Daria, his sister Natalka Husar, his children Boryslava, Luka, and Ostap Struk, his stepchildren Andrij and Julian Wynnyckyj and Tetiana Vynnytska, and his many friends and colleagues in Canada, the United States, France, England, Germany, Norway, Slovakia, Poland, Switzerland, Ukraine, and Australia.

In recognition of Danylo's contribution to Ukrainian studies, in 1999 the CIUS established the Danylo Husar Struk Programme in Ukrainian Literature at its Toronto Office. Under the direction of Prof. Maxim Tarnawsky, the programme has promoted Ukrainian literature in the English-speaking world by supporting an Internet library of Ukrainian literature. In special tribute to Danylo, since 2000 the programme has organized the annual Danylo Husar Struk Memorial Lecture at the University of Toronto. Thus far this annual lecture has been delivered by Profs. Marko Pavlyshyn, George G. Grabowicz, Oleh S. Ilnytskyj, and Vitaly Chernetsky.

Danylo's family has requested that tax-deductible donations in his memory be sent to the Danylo Struk Memorial Fund of the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies, 2336A Bloor Street West, Suite 202, Toronto, ON M6S 1P3.

* * *

It is only after a person is gone that one fully realizes what impact he or she had on one's life. Danylo's impact on me was not insignificant.

By the end of my first year as an undergraduate student at the University of Toronto (1971–75), I had decided to pursue a major in Ukrainian and Russian literature. During my second year I took the Slavic department's full-year course on Ukrainian culture and civilization. Danylo was the young, enthusiastic professor who taught the course's second half, which focussed on the twentieth century.

During my fourth year at the university, I took the new course on Ukrainian poetry that Danylo taught for the first time. This turned out to be one of the most enjoyable courses of my undergraduate years. Danylo had a palpable love for and knowledge of Ukrainian poetry, and he was able to make the study of it interesting, and even challenging and exciting, to his students. This further inspired me to pursue graduate studies in Ukrainian literature.

During the year I completed my master's degree, half of the graduate courses I took were led by Danylo. One was on postwar Ukrainian literature, with an emphasis on the 1960s and 1970s; the other was on Ukrainian modernist literature of the first two decades of the twentieth century. The 1970s were the heyday of studies in Ukrainian language and literature at the University of Toronto, with dozens of undergraduates taking courses and several graduate students majoring in Ukrainian literature. My master's year was a thoroughly enjoyable and memorable one: I spent my time reading and studying many of the best twentieth-century Ukrainian literary works and discussing them with this obviously well-read and discerning professor.

In the summer of 1976, as I was writing my final paper for my master's degree, Prof. George Luckyj offered me the job of administrative and editorial assistant at the Toronto Office of the newly founded CIUS and managing editor of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, which he had initiated as a CIUS associate director. I accepted and thus became Danylo's younger colleague. He, Prof. Luckyj, Prof. Ralph Lindheim, and I usually met for coffee in my office at the Slavic department twice daily from Monday to Friday during the academic year. For over six years, the four of us regularly

discussed current affairs, literature, culture, politics, Ukrainian studies, and university matters.

When Danylo returned to the university from his 1980–81 sabbatical in Europe and his stay in Sarcelles, he was keen to become involved in the joint CIUS-NTSh *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* project. In November 1982 Prof. Luckyj resigned as managing editor of the project, which he had also initiated, and Prof. Manoly Lupul, director of the CIUS, appointed Danylo as the new managing editor. By that time I had already been involved with the project for about two years, and I was appointed its senior manuscript editor. Danylo wisely chose to computerize the entire project almost immediately—the first computer he bought for the project cost around \$25,000!—and introduced other structural and organizational innovations, thereby streamlining work on the encyclopedia and facilitating its completion in record time.

For ten and a half years Danylo, the project's staff, and the widely scattered subject editors laboured intensively to get the encyclopedia's five volumes written, revised, expanded, edited, and published. Danylo set the pace, working inordinately long days, sometimes with double shifts, for years, usually seven days a week. He devoted over a decade of his life to get the volumes out as quickly as possible. He set an example for his dedicated team of in-house and subject editors and editorial-board members. Without Danylo's leadership, his commitment to the project, and the many personal sacrifices he made, the tight schedule for the publication of the volumes would not have been met nor would the *EU* exhibit its high standard of scholarship.

After our work on volumes 3–5 was completed in March 1993, I took a six-month leave from my job, returning as the editor of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* and an editor for the CIUS Press. Meanwhile Danylo took a well-earned year's sabbatical and an additional year's leave, much of which he spent in Europe. After he returned to Toronto in 1995, we saw less of each other than we had during our decade of working together on the *EU*. From 1996 on Danylo spent most of December and April through August in Sarcelles, in Ukraine, and elsewhere in Europe, especially after becoming president of the NTSh in Western Europe. We usually saw each other at guest lectures, conferences, public events, and occasional CIUS meetings, or when I visited him at his office for a chat, or at the few staff birthday lunches we both took part in each year.

Danylo had intended to intensify work on a new, sixth volume of the *EU* beginning in the autumn of 1999, and he expected that I would return to full-time work on the encyclopedia as of that date. His unexpected death in

the summer of 1999 put an end to this plan and to the other unfinished projects he had.

With Danylo's death, the future of the *EU* became uncertain. At the reception that followed the memorial gathering for him at the University of Toronto forty days after his death, a close friend of Danylo's, Prof. Jurij Darewych, impressed upon me the need for me and others at the CIUS to continue the encyclopedia project. After all the years, millions of dollars, and labour invested in the *EU*, with its experienced, talented staff and a substantial research library, data bank, and archive, it would be a great mistake and loss to shut everything down, he said, and this would not be something Danylo would have condoned. I agreed.

It seemed to me, however, that it made sense to continue the *EU* as an electronic publication—one with the potential of becoming the best Web-based source of information about all aspects of Ukraine and its inhabitants in the past and the present, and one that would be freely and readily accessible to users throughout the world. This would be a fine and fitting tribute to Danylo and his legacy. Thankfully, it did not take long to convince my CIUS colleagues about the importance of continuing the *EU* in this form. I was entrusted with the revamped *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine (IEU)* project in my new capacity as its managing editor. I am honoured to be able to carry on Danylo's work in this way.

The *IEU*'s Web site, <www.encyclopediaofukraine.com>, has been online since September 2002. The CIUS is committed to this project. Owing to the institute's limited financial and hence human resources, however, work on updating the entries originally published in volumes 1–5 of the *EU*, writing and editing new entries, and converting all texts to HTML has progressed much more slowly than we would like. Thankfully, the project's obvious significance and relevance has attracted some donor support. But funding for the project is still far from adequate. It is my hope that a great benefactor will step forward with a generous endowment for the *IEU* and thereby provide it with sufficient funds to enlarge its editorial and production staff and thus allow us to accelerate work on the project and ensure its ongoing success and future.

* * *

This special issue in memory of Danylo Husar Struk contains eighteen essays in the field of Ukrainian literature and one in linguistics. Eighteen were contributed by Danylo's colleagues and students in response to a call I issued in 2000. One paper was solicited by me after I heard its author, Maryna Romanets, deliver it at the 2001 conference of the Canadian

Association of Slavists; it is on a subject that fits the profile of this issue and would have been of interest to Danylo.

Nearly all of the essays are on writers Danylo esteemed, enjoyed, taught, and even wrote about (the latter category includes Andiievska, Antonych, Kalynets, Karmansky, Rubchak, Shevchenko, Stefanyk, and Stus; see Danylo's select bibliography in this issue). He enjoyed good poetry and even wrote some himself. He was also a lover of visual art and an avid collector of works by Ukrainian artists. Roman Koropecskyj's essay on Shevchenko's encounters with the Kazaks discusses both poems and paintings that Ukraine's national bard created while in exile in Central Asia, thereby addressing two of Danylo's abiding concerns.

Danylo had a keen interest in Ukrainian modernist literature; he and his colleagues Maxim Tarnawsky and Oleh Ilnytzkyj organized and participated in at least four sessions on this subject at Canadian and American Slavist conventions. Half of the contributions in this special issue are on Ukrainian modernist writers. Marko Pavlyshyn contributes a new perspective on Olha Kobylanska, which he originally delivered in 1990 as the first Danylo Husar Struk Memorial Lecture at the University of Toronto. Jars Balan's essay is on the Canadian dimension of "The Stone Cross" by Vasyl Stefanyk, the Galician modernist who was the subject of Danylo's Ph.D. dissertation and monograph. Myroslav Shkandrij analyzes the political satire that another well-known Galician modernist, Petro Karmansky, wrote and published in Winnipeg during the years he lived there before returning to Galicia. Oleh Ilnytzkyj examines the role that Italy and Italian literature played in Karmansky's life and works. Michael Naydan compares a 1920 cycle of modernist poems by Pavlo Tychyna—about whom Danylo wrote his honors B.A. thesis at Harvard—and Aleksandr Blok's poem *The Twelve*.

Danylo was an avid theatregoer and a lover of opera. He also taught a course on Ukrainian drama at the University of Toronto. Marko Stech examines the concept of personal revolution in the early plays of Ukraine's most famous twentieth-century dramatist, Mykola Kulish, about whom Marko wrote his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Toronto under Danylo's supervision.

During the 1930s, Bohdan Ihor Antonych was the most prominent Galician modernist poet. Danylo enjoyed Antonych's poetry and wrote the entry about him in the *EU*. Two contributions are about him. One is by Iurii (Yuri) Andrukhowych, perhaps Ukraine's most famous contemporary writer and the author of a candidate of sciences dissertation on Antonych; he examines Antonych's "otherness" and exoticism. The other, on Antonych in the context of interwar Polish literature, is by the Ukrainian-Polish scholar

Lidia Stefanowska, who wrote her Ph.D. dissertation on Antonych at Harvard. Maxim Tarnawsky, Danylo's colleague in the Slavic department at the University of Toronto, analyzes the style and content of the writings of Mykhailo Rudnytsky, an influential Western Ukrainian literary critic during the 1930s with whom Antonych happened to disagree.

Walter Smyrniew, a fellow graduate student of Danylo's at the University of Toronto in the 1960s and a leading Western expert on Ukrainian science fiction, contributes a study on the earliest Ukrainian literary depictions of space travel, by the relatively little-known Galician writer Myroslav Kapii (1932) and the more prominent Soviet science-fiction writer Volodymyr Vladko (1935).

Danylo was a great admirer of the New York Group of postwar Ukrainian poets living in the West and wrote the *EU* article about the group. He also wrote several articles about the group's member Emma Andiievska, was working on a book about her, and was the custodian of her personal papers. As well, he was the author of the *EU* article about Bohdan Rubchak, another member of the New York Group, who was also a friend of Danylo's and a fellow literary scholar. Danylo taught Maria Rewakowicz, herself a poet, at the University of Toronto and was her adviser on her Ph.D. dissertation about the New York Group. She contributes a study of the aesthetics of play in Andiievska's and Rubchak's poetry.

One of Danylo's beloved poets was Ihor Kalynets, about whom he wrote three articles. In her contribution, Natalia Pylypiuk analyzes Kalynets's poem inspired by the stained-glass window by Petro Kholodny, Sr. in the Church of the Dormition in Lviv, and another meditation on stained glass by the late poet and political prisoner Vasyl Stus, whose poetry and person Danylo also respected and wrote about.

Just before and after Ukraine declared independence in 1991, many new Ukrainian writers came to prominence in Ukraine. Danylo responded with enthusiasm to this new *vidrodzhennia*—the appearance of Yuri Andrukhovych's first novel, which appeared in the first issue of *Suchasnist* published in Kyiv (1992), and his subsequent works, the poetry of the writers' group Bu-Ba-Bu (Andrukhovych, Viktor Neborak, Oleksandr Irvanets), and literary works by other new writers.

Five contributions focus on this new, post-Soviet Ukrainian literature. Vitaly Chernetsky discusses the trope of displacement and identity construction in post-colonial Ukrainian fiction, focussing on the novels of Andrukhovych and Oksana Zabuzhko. Tamara Hundorova, a prominent Ukrainian literary scholar, analyzes the postmodernism of Bu-Ba-Bu, particularly Andrukhovych's novels, as a manifestation of carnival and kitsch. Mark

Andryczyk, a doctoral candidate in the Slavic department at the University of Toronto who studied with Danylo during the last year of his life, contributes an essay on the poems by Bu-Ba-Bu's members as performed by Ukrainian rock bands and on Bu-Ba-Bu as a cultural as well as literary phenomenon. Maryna Romanets provides insights into the "erotic"/pornographic post-Soviet prose of Zabuzhko, Iurii Izdryk, and Iurii Pokalchuk. Halyna Koscharsky discusses the female voice in the poetry of Zabuzhko and Natalka Bilotserkivets.

Rounding off this special issue is a contribution by Alla Nedashkivska, who taught Ukrainian-language courses for a few years at the University of Toronto before moving on to the University of Alberta. She analyzes the language of the contemporary Ukrainian women's magazines *Jeva* and *Žinka*. Danylo, who also taught Ukrainian-language courses, was the author of the textbook *Ukrainian for Undergraduates*, and was interested in matters pertaining to the Ukrainian language and its lexicon, would have found Alla's essay interesting.

* * *

I am sincerely grateful to all of the contributors to this special issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* in memory of Danylo Husar Struk for their excellent contributions. Your quiet patience while awaiting the appearance of a much-delayed publication is appreciated. We can all be proud of the result. It is a fine contribution to Ukrainian studies and a fitting and lasting tribute to our late colleague, teacher, and friend. *Вічна йому пам'ять!*

Roman Senkus

Taras Shevchenko's Encounters with the Kazaks

Roman Koropeckyj^{*}

Sometimes it takes a timely reminder—in this instance Ivan Dziuba's 1996 study of Taras Shevchenko's “Kavkaz”¹ (The Caucasus)—to realize that there are few, if any, nineteenth-century Russian authors who ventured so blunt and caustic an indictment of their empire's colonial practices in the Caucasus as did Shevchenko in his eponymous poem of 1845 (*Pzt* 1: 323–8).² It was, perhaps, above all the personal experience of having been an enserfed, non-Russian subject of this same empire that provoked such a bitter reaction to, and at the same time unusually astute critique of, imperial ideology (“Всьому навчим; тілько дайте / Свої сині гори” [We'll teach you everything; only hand over / Your blue mountains], 1: 152–3) on the part of someone who did not himself directly participate in the Caucasian conflict.³ Unlike the Caucasus of, say, Lermontov or Bestuzhev-Marlinsky,⁴

* I would like to express my gratitude to Harsha Ram (University of California, Berkeley), whose comments at the 1999 AAASS panel on Slavic orientalisms, at which this paper was originally presented, have proved invaluable in formulating some of my ideas for publication; and to thank David Woodruff of the Getty Research Institute for his help with some of the fine-arts terminology.

1. See Ivan Dziuba, “*Kavkaz*” Tarasa Shevchenko na fone neprekhodiaschego proshloga: K 150-letiu so dnia napisaniia poemy “Kavkaz” (Kyiv: Derzhavna biblioteka Ukrayini dlia iunatstva, 1996), 80–99.

2. This and all subsequent references in the text are to Taras Shevchenko, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv u shesty tomakh* (= *Pzt*), ed. M. K. Hudzii et al. (Kyiv: Akademiiia nauk URSR, 1963), volume number and page(s), with line numbers following citations of poems. All references to Shevchenko's art works are to Taras Shevchenko, *Mystetska spadshchyna* (= *Ms*), 4 vols., ed. O. I. Biletsky et al. (Kyiv: Akademiiia nauk URSR, 1961).

3. In an ironic twist, however, so depressing was the notion of exile on the

Shevchenko's is therefore an abstraction, but it is an abstraction whose power and prescience inhere in an intimate knowledge of the indiscriminate, universal reality of colonial oppression.

However this may be, the world of the empire's *inorodtsy* soon ceased to be an abstraction for the poet. Beginning in 1847, Shevchenko spent ten years in punitive exile as a tsarist conscript in Kazakhstan, himself willy-nilly implementing the absorption of yet another oriental frontier into the imperial fold. Not surprisingly, his attempts at articulating this now very real experience—during the three-year period spent in Orenburg, Orsk and on the Aral Sea, and then the final seven years in Novopetrovsk on the Caspian Mangyshlak Peninsula—are markedly more complex and nuanced than the programmatic rhetoric of “Kavkaz.” It is some of these nuances that I hope to adumbrate in what follows.

When Shevchenko arrived in Orenburg in the middle of 1847, the city was the administrative and military centre for a land that had been undergoing radical transformation since at least the 1820s. Although the Kazak Small and Middle hordes had officially accepted Russian suzerainty as early as the 1730s, a progressively deteriorating nomadic economy, glaring social inequalities and internal anarchy among the Kazaks (or, as they were then referred to, the Kirghiz-[Kaisaks/Kaizaks/Kazakhs]), and increasing pressure from Russian colonization fueled continuous unrest and, at times, open rebellion.⁵ Moreover, challenged by the khanates of Khiva and Kokand for control of Central Asia, the Russian government strove to systematize its administration of the local population (beginning with the Speransky reforms of 1822) and strengthen its military presence along the Kazak frontier by establishing fortified outposts such as Aleksandrovsk (Novopetrovsk) in the Mangyshlak Peninsula (1834) and Raim (Aralsk) on the Aral Sea (1847). These fortifications were used, in turn, to extend control of the region by serving as base camps for expeditions into Kazak and Turkmen territories, the purpose of which was as much scientific as it was military and

Mangyshlak Peninsula for Shevchenko that he expressed a desire even “to [transfer] to the Caucasian corps” (letter to Vasili A. Zhukovsky, between 1 and 10 January 1850, *Pzt* 6: 64). See Pavlo Usenko, “Novopetrovskyi fort na perekhresti imperskykh ustremlin: Iak Taras Shevchenko malo ne stav ‘kavkaztsem,’” *Suchasnist*, 1998, nos. 7–8: 102–15.

4. For a general overview of the treatment of the Caucasus in Russian literature, see Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

5. For the purposes of this article I draw most of my information on the Kazaks from Martha Brill Olcott, *The Kazakhs*, 2d ed. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1995), esp. 57–96.

diplomatic. The foot soldier Shevchenko was assigned to two such expeditions—to the Aral Sea in 1848–49 and the Mangyshlak Peninsula in 1851⁶—and served on them as illustrator—illegally, because a prohibition to paint had been part of his sentence.

Shevchenko saw no military action during his exile in Kazakhstan. What he did see were large bodies of water amidst vast expanses of arid steppe, whose monotony was broken here and there by ruins or a graveyard; and by Kazak or Turkmen nomads, who as a consequence of worsening economic conditions as well as violence in the steppe, by the 1830s were regularly gravitating toward the ever more numerous Russian (mostly Cossack) outposts in search of both security and employment.⁷ In his “Notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks of the Middle Horde,” S. B. Bronevsky, a major-general in the Russian army, describes how the Kirghiz lower classes “gladly devote themselves to serving the Cossacks for a minimal wage; the richer [Cossacks] have ten or more of them. Whoever’s been on the fortified line has seen how many pitiful yurts, hugging the settlements, sadly give off their smoke, how many half-naked *baigush* [poor] grovel about every redoubt, *barymta* [raids for livestock] and the oppression of the powerful [Kazaks] as well as the cattle plague being the reason for the calamitous situation of the *baigush*; extremity compelled them to resort to labour in order to find sustenance for themselves and their families.”⁸ It is these impoverished and, to some extent, already deracinated Kazaks who became a familiar sight for Shevchenko, particularly during his seven-year exile in Novopetrovsk, and who occupy a central place in the poet-painter’s articulation of his own predicament.

Shevchenko’s poetic impressions of Kazakhstan as a geographical, much less an historical, reality are few and far between. He provides some inklings in one of the first poems he wrote in exile, “A. O. Kozachkovskomu” (To A.

6. A day-by-day of account of the first expedition can be found in Anatol Kostenko, *I budet pravda na zemle ...: Taras Shevchenko v Priarale* (Almaty: Oner, 1989); and of the second, in id. and Esbol Umirbaiev, *Ozhyvut stepy...: Taras Shevchenko za Kaspiem* (Kyiv: Radianskyi pysmennyk, 1977). Shevchenko himself describes his 1848 trip from Orenburg via Orsk to Raim in the partly autobiographical novella *Blizentsy* (Pzt 4: 106–13).

7. In a letter to Varvara Repina on 24 October 1847, for instance, Shevchenko describes the area around Orsk as “sad and monotonous ... bare gray hills and the endless Kirghiz steppe. Sometimes the steppe comes alive with camel caravans from Bukhara” (Pzt 6: 42). In a letter to Andrii Lyzohub on 16 July 1852, he describes the Mangyshlak Peninsula as “a desert, an utter desert, without any vegetation, [just] sand and rock, and the poorest of inhabitants, that is, the Kirghiz, who roam here and there” (ibid., 74).

8. S. B. Bronevsky, “Zametki ... o kirgiz-kaisakakh srednei ordy,” *Otechestvennye zapiski* 42 (1830): 176–7.

O. Kozachkovsky) (*Pzt* 2: 63–7), which contains, significantly enough, only faint echoes of the philippic against Russian colonial practices in “Kavkaz”:

А тут бурян, піски, тали ...
 І хоч би на сміх де могила
 О давнім давні говорила.
 Неначе люди не жили.
 Од споконвіку і донині
 Ховалась од людей пустиня,
 А ми таки її найшли.
 Уже й твердині поробили,
 Затого будуть і могили,
 Всього наробимо колись! (69–78)⁹

In contrast to the stentorian righteousness of the earlier poem, the tone here is noticeably muted. The first-person plural no longer conveys indignation, but now admits rather, at once frankly and with ironic resignation, the poet’s own complicity in despoiling what was hidden and pristine, albeit, as the allusion to grave mounds—or rather the absence thereof—would suggest, neither historically articulate nor sacred. The symbolic functions of grave mounds, so richly deployed by Shevchenko in his figuration of his native Ukraine,¹⁰ are present here only, but nonetheless already ominously, *in posse*.¹¹

But then too, these few lines are part of a much longer poem very different in intent from Shevchenko’s 1845 critique of Russian imperial designs. Like so much of the poetry he produced during his Kazak exile, “A. O. Kozachkovskomu” is an intimate lyric whose ostensibly autobiographical realia are rather abstract lines in a portrait of the poet’s inner self. Indeed, as George G. Grabowicz points out, neither Shevchenko’s exile poetry nor, for that matter, much of his other poetry is ever actually concerned with “external” biographical or even historical details as such, and when they do surface, as in the poem addressed to Kozachkovsky, the poet invariably

9. But here there are weeds, sand, dunes ... / Would that a grave mound even mockingly / Speak about the distant past. / It’s as if the people hadn’t lived. / From time immemorial and until today / The desert hid itself from people, / And yet we found it. / We’ve already built fortresses, / There’ll soon be graves here too, / One day we’ll cook up everything for you!.

10. Cf. George G. Grabowicz, *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Ševčenko* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1982), 108–20.

11. In fact, several of Shevchenko’s visual works from the period depict Kazak graves and cemeteries (e.g., *Ms* 2: fig. 21; 3: figs. 1, 7, 17).

refigures them according to the dictates of a specific, symbolically laden, inner narrative. The same, Grabowicz goes on to argue, may in fact also be said of Shevchenko's correspondence from the period, which serves almost exclusively as a medium for affective rather than "objectively factual" communication.¹²

In light of this, the depiction of the Kazak steppe in "A. O. Kozachkovskomu" is at once consistent with Shevchenko's poetics of the exile period and to some extent an exception. Aside from "Hotovo! Parus rozpustyly" (All's ready! We've unfurled the sail) (*Pzt* 2: 232) (I shall deal with another exception below), the physical landscape of Shevchenko's Kazakhstan is for the most part a featureless, almost abstract presence: a requisite mention of the Aral here (e.g., in "Mov za podushne, ostupyly" [As if for the polling tax, they surrounded] (*Pzt* 2: 107]), of the Darya there (e.g., in "Dobro, u koho ie hospoda" [Rich is he who has a home] (*Pzt* 2: 97]), but otherwise just unspecified desert and steppe, undifferentiated weeds, bulrushes, and moonlit sea. All of these landscapes function primarily as evocative props in an autobiographical grand narrative about the pain of solitude and exile, longing for (a no less abstract) Ukraine, and the existential condition of the poet. It is only in "Hotovo! Parus rozpustyly," in which Shevchenko summarizes his sixteen-month stay on the Aral Sea, that this featureless world acquires a degree of topographic concreteness, and the poet himself, something of an "objective" autobiography (*Pzt* 2: 232):

Готово! Парус розпустили,
Посунули по синій хвілі
Помеж кугою в Сир-Дарю
Байдару та баркас чималий.
Прощай, убогий Кос-Арале.
Нудьгу заклятую мою
Ти розважав-таки два літа.
Спасибі, друже; похвались,
Що люди і тебе знайшли
І знали, що з тебе зробити.
Прощай же друже! Ні хвали,
Ані ганьби я не сплітаю
Твоїй пустині; в іншім краю,

12. See Hryhorii Hrabovych, "Epiloh: Prykhovanyi Shevchenko (Pidteksty samozobrazennia ta retseptsii)," in his *Shevchenko iakoho ne znaemo* (Z problematyky symbolichnoi avtobiografii ta suchasnoi retseptsii poeta) (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2000), 271–82.

Не знаю, може й нагадаю
Нудьгу колишнюю колись!¹³

Yet, once again, as in “A. O. Kozachkovskomu,” the evocation of Central Asian realia serves here rather as a vehicle for ironic meditation on the poet’s own inadvertent role in “civilizing” a primeval world and, more broadly, on his fate, which in the given context suggests a correlation between ironic distance and a capacity for survival.

But such evocations of Kazak realia are, as I have noted, an exception. So too are poems that deal with the native inhabitants of the Kazak steppe. The latter make an appearance (understandably enough, perhaps) in the first poem Shevchenko wrote in exile, “Dumy moi, dumy moi, vy moi iedyni” (My thoughts, my thoughts, you, my only ones) (*Pzt* 2: 22), which he invites to fly

Із-за Дніпра широкого
У степ погуляти
З киргизами убогими.
Вони вже убогі
Уже голі.... Та на волі
Ще моляться богу. (7–12)¹⁴

As one would expect, these “poor Kirghiz” were mustered ad nauseam in Soviet-era treatments of “Shevchenko and Kazakhstan” as evidence of the progressive poet’s fraternal solidarity with the downtrodden Kazaks.¹⁵ But all cant aside, there is a grain of truth in this. For empathy, albeit as a refraction, rather, of self-pity or, more egregiously, as a form of narcissism, is perhaps one of the central mechanisms by which Shevchenko apprehends

13. All’s ready! We’ve unfurled the sail, / Moved over the blue waves / Through the sedge to the Syr-Darya / Quite a big boat and skiff. / Farewell, poor Kos-Aral. / My implacable tedium / You’ve lightened for two years. / Thank you, friend; and boast / That people have discovered even you / And knew what to do with you. / Farewell, my friend! Neither praise / Nor reproach do I express / For your desert; in another land, / I don’t know, perhaps I’ll recall / One day the tedium of long ago!

14. From beyond the wide Dnieper / To roam in the steppe / With the poor Kirghiz. / They’re already poor / They’re already naked.... But still / Pray to God in freedom.

15. See, for instance, I. T. Diusenbaiev, “Shevchenko v Kazakhstani,” in *Zbirnyk prats Iwileinoi Desiatoi naukovoi shevchenkivskoi konferentsii* (Kyiv: Akademija nauk URSR, 1962), 254; Kalsim Kereeva-Kanafieva, *Dorevoliutsionnaia russkaia [sic] pechat o Kazakhstane: Iz istorii russko-kazakhskikh literaturnykh sviazey* (Almaty: Kazakhskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo, 1963), 275; or Raushan Kaishybaeva, “Brat nash, druh nash,” *Radianske literaturoznavstvo*, 1972, no. 12: 50–1.

the *inorodtsy*. Thus, in yet another poem written early on during the poet's exile, Kazaks come to function as a kind of metaphoric negative correlative through which the hapless lot of Ukraine can be effectively projected. The grey old man in "Son ('Hory moi vysokii')" (The dream ["My high mountains"]) (*Pzt* 2: 43) recounts to the dreamer:

Блукав я по світу чимало,
Носив і свиту і жупан ...
Нашо вже лихо за Уралом
Отим киргизам, отже й там,
Єй же богу, лучче жити,
Ніж нам на Україні.
А може тим, що киргизи
Ще не християни?...
Наробив ти, Христе, лиха!
А переіначив
Людей божих?! Котилися
І наші козачі
Дурні голови за правду,
За віру Христову ... (81–96)¹⁶

Despite the bitter irony, Shevchenko's empathy here for the plight of the luckless Kazaks is, as in the earlier poem, an instance of a kind of pathetic fallacy, whereby "the Kirghiz" constitute little more than an abstract measure of the condition of the poet's own, ostensibly much more deserving, ("civilized") people.

However, the image of an "impoverished land" resurfaces, although in a very different idiom, in the poem "U boha za dvermy lezhala sokyra" (An ax lay behind God's door) (*Pzt* 2: 86–8), Shevchenko's most extensive treatment in verse of Kazak themes. Based putatively on a Kazak legend that in any case has analogies in other folklores,¹⁷ it is unique in Shevchenko's poetry from the period in that it focuses on something other than his personal

16. I've wandered the world quite a bit, / I've worn a peasant's and a Cossack's coat ... / Why the misery beyond the Urals / For the Kirghiz, but there, / By God, life's better / Than for us in Ukraine. / Maybe that's because the Kirghiz / Are not yet Christians?... / You sure made a mess, Christ! / And turned God's people / Upside down?! And our Cossack / Stupid heads / Also fell for the truth, / For the Christian faith ...

17. See Mykhailo Mochulsky, "Kult dereva i sokyry v Shevchenkovii poemi," *Ukraina*, 1930, nos. 3–4: 80–8; and the entry "U [B]oha za dvermy lezhala sokyra," in *Shevchenkivskyi slovnyk*, vol. 2, ed. Ie. P. Kyryliuk (Kyiv: Instytut literatury Akademii nauk URSR and Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia, 1977), 283–4.

fate, Ukraine, or biblical or classical motifs. The poem recounts the story of a *kaizak* who steals an ax from God, which then frees itself from the thief's grip and chops down every tree in sight as a "blaze breaks out, and clouds of smoke cover the sun" (17–18). The ax and blaze devastate the world for seven years, "from the Urals to the Tinghiz to the Aral" (19–20), leaving in its wake the barren Kazak desert and a single, sacred tree—*syngych-agach*—

Покинуте богом.
Покинуте сокирою,
Огнем не палиме,
[...]
І кайзаки не минають
Дерева святого.
На долину зажають.
Дивуються з його
І моляться, і жертвами
Дерево благають
Щоб парости розпустило
У їх біднім краї. (59–61, 64–71)¹⁸

The poem is remarkable in a number of ways, not the least for its detached, objective stance, free of any overt valuation, much less lyrical reflection. This imbues the Kazak world with dignity, self-sufficiency, and a sense of its own past, as well as its own future. But even "U boha za dvermy" may be viewed as an example of how Shevchenko consistently reconfigures external realia according to his symbolic "metanarrative": the vision of total, divinely inflicted destruction and the concomitant hope of eventual revitalization fits neatly into his millenarian mode.¹⁹

18. Abandoned by God. / Abandoned by the ax, / Untouched by fire,/ [...] / And the Kaizaks do not bypass / The sacred tree. / They visit the valley. / Wonder at the tree / And pray, and with offerings / They beg the tree / To sprout shoots / In their impoverished land.

19. See Grabowicz, *The Poet as Mythmaker*, 137–46. A number of Soviet critics went so far as to argue that Shevchenko's "fire in the steppe" is an allegory be it for Russian colonialism or for Kazak uprisings against the Russians by either Isatai Taimanov and Makhambet Utemisov (1830–38) (according to Kereeva-Kanafieva, *Dorevoliutsionnaia russkaia pechat*, 275) or Kenesary Kasymov (1837–47) (according to Raushan Kaishibaeva, *Kazakhsko-ukrainskie literaturnye sviazi* [Almaty: Nauka, 1977], 15–17), depending on the prevailing political atmosphere. See also Iurii Ivakin, *Komentar do "Kobzaria" Shevchenka: Poezii 1847–1861 rr.* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1968), 65–71; and his *Poeziia Shevchenka periodu zaslannia* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1984), 79–80.

Yet no less remarkable, considering that a native Kazak source for the poem is yet to be identified, this Kazak variation on the apocalyptic theme also contains more concrete, identifiable autobiographical detail than perhaps any other poem from the exile period. “U boha za dvermy” is otherwise clearly a poetic reminiscence of two incidents Shevchenko experienced when he was crossing the Kazak desert on his way to Raim in the spring of 1848—an enormous controlled burn set by Kazak herdsmen and the sight of local nomads venerating a solitary ancient tree in the desert. In fact, Shevchenko went on to record these incidents also in a pair of watercolours painted during the expedition and then in his Russian-language novella *Bliznetsy* (The Twins), written in 1855 during his “second exile” in Novopetrovsk:

As the sun set, the horizon began to light up with a pale glow. As night approached, the glow turned increasingly red and came nearer to us. From beyond the dark line of the horizon, slightly bent here and there, red jets and tongues began to appear.... The entire space I saw during the day seemed to have expanded and was flooded with fiery jets in almost parallel directions. What a wonderful, indescribable scene! I sat up all night under my tent enjoying the fiery scene. (*Pzt* 4: 107)²⁰

Some two versts from the road, in a narrow gully, grew an old green poplar tree. Around it I already found a goodly [crowd] staring at the green guest of the desert with wonder and (so it seemed to me) reverence. Around the tree and on its branches pious Kirghiz had hung pieces of multicoloured cloth, ribbons, skeins of dyed horsehair, and, the richest of all sacrifices, the pelt of a wild cat, tightly tied to a branch. Looking at all this, I felt respect for the savages (*дикарь*) for their innocent sacrifices. I rode away last and looked around for a long time, as if unable to believe the marvel I had seen.... And half-consciously I spoke to it as to a living creature, “Farewell,” and quietly rode after the transport. (*Ibid.*, 108–9)²¹

That Shevchenko felt compelled to record these incidents three times in three different media underscores, of course—as does the genuine wonderment conveyed in the prose descriptions—the impact they had made on him. But however this may be, what is important for my purposes is that

20. In an ironic touch so typical of Shevchenko during his exile period, he adds that he should have learned to paint so as to be able to capture this scene (107–8).

21. In his *Puteshestvie po kirigizskim stepiam i Turkestanskому kraiu* (1896), Aleksei I. Maksheev, Shevchenko’s superior and friend on the Aral expedition, notes both of these incidents and Shevchenko’s depictions of them. See the pertinent passages from his book in *Spohady pro Tarasa Shevchenka* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1982), 208–9. Maksheev also notes that sometime later the tree was chopped down by a drunken Russian soldier.



Figure 1: Fire in the Desert

Source: *Ms 2*, fig. 2 (watercolour, no earlier than May 1848).



Figure 2: The Lone Tree

Source: *Ms 2*, fig. 5 (watercolour, 26 May 1848).

it is precisely in media other than his Ukrainian poetry that Shevchenko's encounter with Central Asia is articulated not only more explicitly, but also more extensively. That one of these should be a Russian-language novella written when, as far as we know, he was writing no (Ukrainian) poetry, again raises the question of a possible correlation between the attempt at "objective" distance or detachment²² and survival (the years on Mangyshlak were incomparably more brutal than the poet's first three years of exile). Yet considering that Shevchenko spent ten years in Kazakhstan, even his Russian prose, including his diary (begun in June 1857 and covering only the last two months of exile) and his correspondence, actually says precious little about his impressions of the land and its native inhabitants,²³ as though they were indeed "uninteresting."²⁴ In fact, aside from the description of the sacred tree, Shevchenko devoted only one extended passage to the Kazak way of life. In his diary he recorded on 15 July 1857 that

the Turkmens and the Kirghiz do not erect magnificent *abu* (mausoleums) to their saints (*aulé*) as they do to their heroes. They cover the saint's corpse with an ugly heap of rocks and throw camel, horse, and sheep bones—the leftovers from sacrifices—on it. They plant a tall wooden pole, sometimes crowned with a spear, wrap that pole with multicoloured rags, and this concludes the sepulchral homage to the saint. To the ordinary mortal, on the other hand, they erect, depending on the wealth he left behind, a more or less magnificent memorial. And opposite the memorial, on two small, decorated posts, they place saucers. In one of the saucers the nearest relatives burn mutton fat through the night, and into the other they pour water during the day so that a bird, having drunk the water, will pray to God for the soul of the sinner and beloved deceased. Our enlightened archpastors, most likely, would cast doubt on the purity and loftiness of the savage's silent poetic prayer and prohibit it as pagan blasphemy. (*Pzt* 5: 70)

The sarcastic anticlericalism that in part informs "Kavkaz" ("Ви ще темні, / Святым хрестом не просвіщенні, / У нас навчиться!" [You're still ignorant, / Unenlightened by the holy cross, / Learn from us! (101-3)]) remained intact even after ten years of punitive exile. But this description of

22. For the possible implications of Shevchenko's linguistic choice as it correlates to poetry or prose, but with no discussion of his visual production, see George G. Grabowicz, "A Consideration of the Deep Structures in Shevchenko's Works," in *Shevchenko and the Critics, 1861–1980*, ed. George S. N. Luckyj (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980), 481–96.

23. In such novellas as *Bliznetsy*, *Neschastnyi*, and *Varnak*, all of which deal to a greater or lesser extent with Kazakhstan, Shevchenko devotes substantially more space and attention to the Slavic (Cossack) settlers than the natives.

24. To Vasili A. Zhukovsky between 1 and 10 January 1850, *Pzt* 6: 64.

Kazak mortuary practices also suggests that there was “something interesting in this uninteresting but as yet mysterious land”²⁵ after all, something that Shevchenko clearly chose to explore (even if it was connected to a long-held fascination on his part) and, as in his encounter with the *aulia agach*, treated with a sense of wonder, reverence, and, above all, respect. But what is no less intriguing is the fact that, like the sacred tree and the fire, this impression of Kazak customs also finds its way into Shevchenko’s correspondence²⁶ and art (see figure 3). This raises the question why certain incidents during his exile in Kazakhstan created impressions powerful enough to be recorded in media other than the visual.

For it is precisely to the visual medium that we owe almost all of our knowledge of Shevchenko’s impressions of the Kazak steppe, and where, in contrast to his Ukrainian poetry or his Russian prose, depictions of the Kazak inhabitants occupy a substantial part of an œuvre. To be sure, both the number and the qualitative richness of these works are largely a direct consequence of the fact that Shevchenko produced many of them to order as illustrator for the Aral and Mangyshlak expeditions. Yet, as the examples of the fire, sacred tree, and funerary rite show, they are no less constitutive of his symbolic universe than his poetry, which they at once parallel, complement, and ramify. Indeed, as Shevchenko repeats time and again to his correspondents, it was the tsar’s explicit prohibition on painting that weighed heaviest on Shevchenko: “There is so much new here, the Kirghiz are so picturesque, so original and naïve, that they are just asking to be sketched, and I go crazy when I look at them.”²⁷ The very nature of the visual medium not only enabled Shevchenko to explore a range of themes often quite distinct from what he articulated in his poetry or prose and not only mobilized a different emotive vocabulary and set of conventions, but also problematized the epistemological relationship between the objectively referential and the symbolically affective.²⁸ In spite of the prohibition, Shevchenko managed to sketch, draw, and paint in Kazakhstan not only for

25. Ibid.

26. In letters to Bronisław Zaleski (8, 10, 13, 20 May 1857), Shevchenko describes the same customs and informs him that he (Shevchenko) is sending him two additional works on the same theme (prayer for the dead) (*Pzt* 6: 163; see also *Ms* 3, “Opisy ta komentari, 88–9).

27. To Repina, 24 October 1847, *Pzt* 6: 42.

28. It may be worthwhile recalling in this connection Edward Said’s argument that orientalist discourse occupies an ambiguous place between referential knowledge and symbolic construct. See his *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 21–5.



Figure 3: Katia the Kazak

Source: *Ms 3*, fig. 61 (sepia, 1856–July 1857).

the two expeditions but also for himself and friends, recording in dozens of finished works and sketches his impressions of that “impoverished land” and its inhabitants—and thus representing in art what in poetry he, for the most part, chose to ignore (suppress?).



Figure 4: Fort Kos-Aral in Winter

Source: *Ms 2*, fig. 35 (sepia, 6 October 1848–2 April 1849).



Figure 5: Kazak on a Horse

Source: *Ms 2*, fig. 42 (watercolour, 1848–49).

Regardless of the circumstance that impelled their creation, Shevchenko's visual impressions of Kazaks may be grouped into three constellations representing three more or less distinct spaces: the exoteric, the esoteric (in the etymological sense), and, for lack of a better word, the introspective. Transcending both genre and convention, these spaces are governed by what I would argue is the implicit exploration of the matrix of relationships between the Central Asian nomads and their Slavic colonizers, including, of course, the artist himself.

The first, exoteric, constellation arose in its entirety in connection with Shevchenko's "professional" work during his travels on the Aral Sea and the Mangyshlak Peninsula. The Kazaks appear here as part of larger landscapes, produced, it would appear, in order to provide a record of the everyday life of the two expeditions. The nomads are invariably depicted not so much as inhabitants of a "pristine" habitat but rather against the background of—they are always foregrounded—and in contact with the Slavic interlopers (figure 4).²⁹

The Kazak yurts "hug" the settlements or encampments, while their dwellers are represented as, quite literally, on a tenuous outside looking in. Individually or in small groups they are observing—passively? impassively? with resignation?—the smoke, the barques, the construction sites, and the elevated sentries, all indices of a foreign presence *actively* transforming their land ("people ... knew what to do with you") before their eyes. While their dress, dwellings, and physical apartness suggest the preservation still of a separate identity, their passivity signals loss of control over their destiny. For his part, the artist depicts everything from an even wider perspective, as if detaching himself from this (non-)confrontation between the colonized and the colonizer.

It is precisely against this background of the contingency of the two cultures that the second, what I call the esoteric, constellation becomes obvious for what it is: an implicit attempt on Shevchenko's part to represent the Kazaks in their native environment, from which the colonizer is, for all intents and purposes, absent. Quite tellingly, only one of these representations (figure 5) is actually set in the open steppe. At the same time it is also Shevchenko's most conventional, as if by the late 1840s the "authenticity" of the Kazak nomad could be recovered only through conscious aesthetic mediation. After all, the work constitutes an unmistakable nod to many of the commonplaces of mid-nineteenth-century European orientalism: the desert with its endless expanse, its blinding brightness, and its sense of

29. For similar depictions, see *Ms 2*, figs. 4, 7, 8, 18, 34; and *Ms 3*, fig. 58.

desolation; the exotic tribesman whose bright yellow trousers, blue and white striped shirt, and red kerchief provide an unexpected palette at once in contrast to and in harmony with the orange, tan, and grayish blue of the desert landscape; the “noble beast,” with its intimation of liberty and space; and its no less “noble” rider, relaxed but vigilant, the self-sufficient master of his desert domain. All of these could have come from the brush of a Delacroix, Chassériau, or Guillaumet.³⁰

This said, Shevchenko’s authentic Kazak is to be found more often than not inside the enclosed domestic space of a yurt, as in the sepia *The Song of a Young Kazak* (figure 6).

With its close attention to detail, from the native dress, architecture, and vessels to the patterns on the rug and the musician’s trousers, the image aims to convey accurate, if somewhat schematic, ethnographic information about the daily life of a Kazak family,³¹ probably for purposes of the expedition but, for that matter, also to satisfy the curiosity of a Russian audience increasingly fascinated with the exotic inhabitants of the empire’s newly incorporated central Asian territories.³²

Yet what is critical here, as in Shevchenko’s other esoteric depictions of the Kazaks,³³ is precisely the representation of a space that by its very nature seems to resist violation and thus transformation. For what Shevchenko conveys in *The Song* is above all a sense of undisturbed domestic self-sufficiency and innocence. In this respect the Kazak family is represented not so much in its native environment as in an utterly pristine, almost abstract one. Outside the yurt there is only an empty expanse of desert, as if the Kazak trio were its only living inhabitants. Like the aborigines of much

30. Cf. Phillippe Jullian, *The Orientalists: European Painters of Eastern Scenes* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), 100–2, 82, 104.

31. Cf. Hlafira Palamarchuk, *Neskorennyi Prometei: Tvorchist Shevchenka-khudozhynika 1850–1857 rokiv* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1968), 57. Kostenko and Umirbaiev argue that the picture depicts a Turkmen rather than Kazak family (*Ozhyvut stepy*, 174).

32. In this, Shevchenko’s drawings of Kazak domestic scenes conform neatly with similar depictions by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century artists such as Nikolai Dmitriev and Johann-Gotlieb Georgi or by his contemporary and friend Bronisław Zaleski, who included a number of Shevchenko’s works in his album *La Vie des steppes kirghizes* (Paris, 1865). For a brief overview of Russian (sic) depictions of Kazakhstan, see V. G. Dolinskaia, *Khudozhniki Rossii v Srednei Azii i Kazakhstane* (Moscow: Nauchno-issledovatelnyi institut teorii i istorii izobrazitelnykh iskusstv Rossiiskoi Akademii khudozhestv, 1993).

33. See, e.g., *Ms 2*, fig. 14; 3, figs. 5, 50. Although the latter, *The Kazak Woman*, is set outdoors, the scene is a domestic one, with a yurt featured prominently in the background.



Figure 6: The Song of a Young Kazak

Source: *Ms 3*, fig. 18 (sepia, June 1851–July 1857).

of early American art,³⁴ they inhabit a primeval world that as yet remains untouched by toil and struggle, much less by contact with a colonial interloper, suffused as it is with the most basic human—child-like—emotions, with play and family love.

However, while this representation imbues the *inorodtsy* with universally recognizable humanity, their pre-lapsarian isolation is nonetheless an illusion. The domestic space of the Kazaks has been in fact already violated, and in this sense appropriated, by the (foreign) artist, an unwillingly willing intruder who, after all, depicts their intimate world as an object to be scrutinized by an imperial audience that will ultimately determine the extent of these “savages” humanity. But on a different level, there is implicit in this drawing yet another act of appropriation, one that is informed by the same pathetic fallacy marking Shevchenko’s poetic articulation of his personal symbolic universe. Representing as they do an idealized nuclear family, the Kazaks here, much like those in the above-quoted “Son,” may be viewed in their metaphoric function of a negative correlative for the dysfunctional (Ukrainian) family that so insistently haunts Shevchenko’s poetry, in which the patriarchal father disrupts the unmediated affect of the mother-child relationship.³⁵

It is within the context of this entire complex of latent meanings generated by both the exoteric and esoteric representations of Kazaks that the significance of what I call Shevchenko’s introspective representations can be more fully grasped. Depicted neither as part of some larger landscape nor in the familial intimacy of a native yurt, these images of half-naked Kazak boys are remarkable precisely because of the conspicuous absence of, on the one hand, any adult Kazaks and, on the other, of the Kazak environment itself: the boys are shown almost invariably within the confines of an alien space and structures erected by and for the Slavic colonizer (figure 7).³⁶

If *The Song of a Young Kazak* represents an idyllic world constituted of the most basic of human relationships, a world as yet undiscovered by civilization, *The Baigush under the Window* would appear to signal the consequences of civilization. The cavorting Kazak infant, whose naked innocence is inscribed at once by the pristineness of his native environment and by his unmediated

34. See Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 72–80.

35. Cf. Grabowicz, *The Poet as Mythmaker*, 63–76.

36. For analogous depictions, see *Ms 2*, figs. 37, 38; 3, figs. 32, 56, 57. The last item, *The Lucky Fisherman*, is an exception, set as it is on the banks of what one must assume to be the Caspian Sea.



Figure 8: *The Baigush*

Source: *Ms 3*, fig. 32 (sepia, beginning of autumn, 1853).

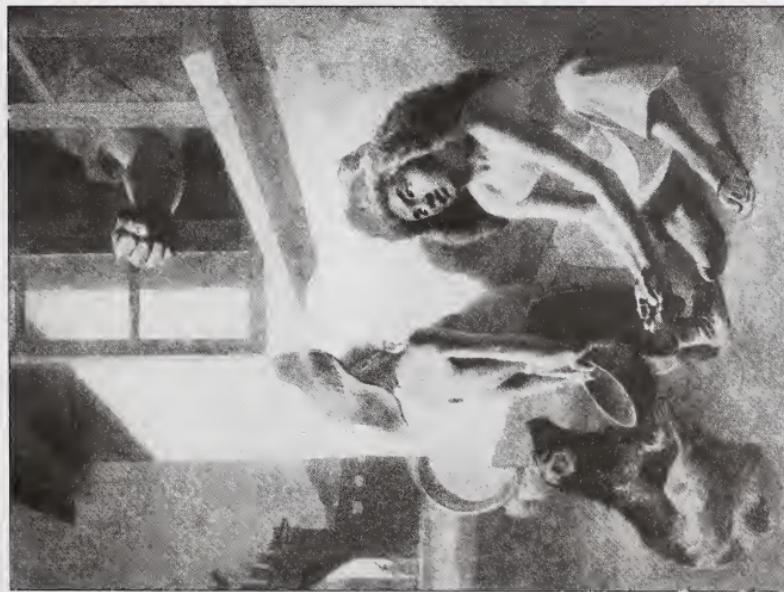


Figure 7: *The Baigush under the Window*

Source: *(Ms 3*, fig. 45 (sepia, 10 June 1855–21 April 1856).



Figure 10: T. H. Shevchenko among His Colleagues

Source: *Ms 3*, fig. 15 (pen-and-ink with whitewash, July-August 1851).



Figure 9: Self-Portrait

Source: *Ms 2*, fig. 52 (sepia, no later than 29 December 1849).

interaction with his parents, has matured into the Kazak boy whose destitution is marked by the absence of family and the concomitant loss of his native milieu, which, as his ill-fitting Kazak clothes suggest, has already been despoiled. The two boys have entered the world of foreigners in order to survive.³⁷ No longer self-sufficient nomads, they have become dependents—quite literally children³⁸—of those who have created, within the confines of a brick-and-wood structure, an alien world designed to keep out and at the same time tame the “hostile” desert. And, significantly enough, the only other identifiable human presence in this particular constellation of works is the artist himself (figure 8).³⁹

In the course of his ten-year exile in Kazakhstan, Shevchenko produced a number of self-portraits.⁴⁰ Most of them (e.g., *Ms 1*, figs. 1, 46, 47, 52; 3, figs. 16, 37) focus exclusively on the artist himself as in figure 9. Others (e.g., *Ms 2*, fig. 12; 3, fig. 15), however, depict him in the act of portraying his colleagues on the two expeditions as in figure 10. Others still (e.g., *Ms 2*, figs. 22, 30; 3, fig. 10) are more subtle and represent a lonely figure in the wilderness bent over a sketch pad in whom one can discern the expedition’s artist at work (figure 11).

The self-portrait in figure 8 is different. Not the sad-eyed, prematurely aged foot soldier, or the artist relaxing among friends, or the diligent chronicler of an expedition, Shevchenko assumes here simply and unequivocally the role of the colonizer. He stands behind the begging boys, a denizen, however unwilling, of the Russian fort, framed by its doors, dressed in its uniform, a Slavic adult patronizing the Kazak children. At the same time the artist is framed in part also by the huge *timak* of the younger boy, which disrupts the regular lines of the doorways, while the artist’s gaze is directed over the shoulders of the two in the same direction as that of the older boy. All three are looking into the interior of what appears to be a barracks room, the door to which separates its presumed inhabitants and us, the viewers,

37. As Kostenko and Umirbaiev point out, although begging was not an accepted custom among the Kazaks, it was nonetheless practiced, particularly in times of *jut* (freezing rain), which was especially severe in 1847 and 1851–52. However, General Esen, the governor of the Orenburg land in 1817–30, decreed that only children up to the age of ten could beg inside Russian settlements. See *Ozhyvut stepy*, 235–6.

38. See Nathaniel Knight, “Grigorev in Orenburg, 1851–1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire?” *Slavic Review* 59 (2000): 90, n. 54.

39. See also *Ms 3*, fig. 56. L. V. Vladych dates *The Baigush* to the end of 1855 and the beginning of 1856 in *Avtoportrety Taras Shevchenka* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1973), 18–19.

40. A sophisticated discussion of these self-portraits is still sorely lacking. See “*Avtoportrety T. H. Shevchenka*,” in *Shevchenkivskyi slovnyk*, 1 (1976): 21–2.



Figure 11: Dalismen-Mullah-Aule

Source: *Ms 3*, fig. 10 (watercolour, July–8 August 1851).



Figure 12: The Barracks

Source: *Ms 3*, fig. 70 (sepia, 1856–July 1857).

from Shevchenko and the two boys. While there is a note of alienation from what is to be found inside the room, as well as a note of identification on Shevchenko's part with those who remain outside it, the artist's gaze and stance suggest a more complex dynamic. Neither explicitly stern nor challenging, his eyes engage the viewer quizzically, it seems, drawing the latter's attention away from the children to Shevchenko himself. The drama of the begging Kazaks, with its intimations of the uprooting and corruption of their world by Russian colonization, is in effect refracted narcissistically as Shevchenko's own drama. A picture that hopes to elicit pity for the Kazak boys thus becomes a vehicle for eliciting pity for the exiled artist, himself forcefully uprooted, himself a victim, and an unwilling perpetrator of Russia's civilizing mission.

But there is yet another self-portrait of the artist in exile, which also happens to be the last work that Shevchenko completed in Novopetrovsk. Like the poem "Hotovo! Parus rozpustyly," it constitutes something of a summation of the seven years Shevchenko spent at the Caspian Sea, so much crueler than the time spent at the Aral Sea and so much poorer in poetry, but rich in artistic production. In contrast to *The Baigush*, Shevchenko now depicts himself inside the barracks together with those to whom the Kazak beggars in the earlier drawing were extending their hands, but clearly not one of them.⁴¹ There, in the lower right-hand corner, illuminated by the same beam of light that illuminates, on the one hand, a coarse crowd of reveling soldiers and, on the other, utterly exhausted ones, sits Shevchenko away and apart from his fellow conscripts, obviously tending to something in his hands.⁴² But he is not alone: sharing his solitude, vying for his attention, reflecting and reiterating his fate, is a little companion, a Kazak boy.

41. For Shevchenko one of the more unbearable aspects of his penal conscription was living in barracks together with other conscripts. As he describes it in a letter to Repina, "Yesterday I could not finish this letter because my fellow soldiers finished training; hence the story-telling began, some got beat up, others were promised a beating, [there was] noise, yelling, a balalaika, [and] they chased me out of the barracks" (25–29 February 1848; *Pzt* 6: 49).

42. According to Palamarchuk, Shevchenko is repairing his ammunition belt, while the boy is delighting in a roll he just received (*Neskorennyi Prometei*, 59). A similar self-portrait of Shevchenko in the barracks can be barely described in the drawing *Punishment by Muzzling* (*Ms* 3, fig. 67), which is part of the series "The Prodigal Son."



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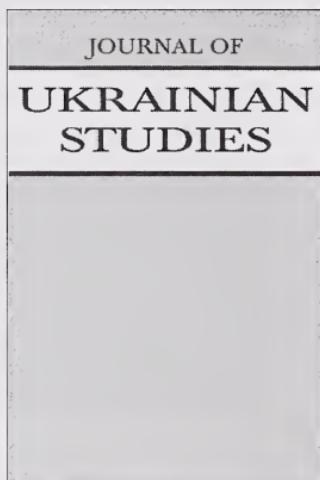
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Rereading the Classics in a Post-Soviet World: The Case of Olha Kobylianska

*Marko Pavlyshyn**

One of the self-evident tasks of post-Soviet literary criticism, especially in the successor states of the former Soviet Union, is the re-examination, reinterpretation and re-evaluation of the corpus of texts that is the object of this scholarly discipline. Over and above the general obligation of all humanities scholarship to reconsider the seemingly familiar in the light of new theories and in the context of our own changing cultural environment, post-Soviet literary scholarship has to correct previous omissions and distortions. It is only a little less self-evident that these tasks are more easily named than done. Soviet intellectual models have lost their authority and, therefore, utility. But which of the available theoretical models can and should a scholar in a formerly Soviet country seek to use? Which tasks of rediscovery and reinterpretation should be given priority? Even more fundamentally, what ideas about the relationship between literature, literary scholarship, and society should be assumed as the basis for these tasks? In the economically impoverished post-Soviet environment, what institutional and personal resources are available for their performance?

These are questions that have no general answers for the whole of the post-Soviet space. For the literary scholarship of formerly metropolitan and, in many respects, still hegemonic Russia, the tasks of self-reinvention are different from those confronting the formerly dominated cultures, each with

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its own histories and present. The following observations, therefore, are rather specific. They focus on the situation in Ukraine, which should not be taken as analogous to or symptomatic of situations elsewhere.

The response of Ukrainian literary scholarship to the end of the Marxist-Leninist monopoly over ideology (c. 1989) and the advent of state independence for Ukraine (1991) has been more spontaneous and random than inspired by any articulated vision or driven by the logic of any debate. A great deal of the energy of middle-generation literary scholars during this period has been invested into the republication of texts by formerly proscribed and persecuted writers, especially of the 1920s and 1930s on the one hand and the 1960s–1980s on the other. Perhaps the most impressive outcome of these endeavours is the complete works of the repressed poet Vasyl Stus, who died in a prison camp as late as 1985.¹ New literary histories as the basis for new textbooks and new pedagogies have been required. They have not been forthcoming in overwhelming numbers, but those that have been published are, on the whole, conservative in their theoretical profile, limiting themselves where possible to statements of empirical fact and replacing the narrative of progress toward a just communist social order with the no less emphatic narrative of progress toward the embodiment of the national idea in political reality.²

Younger scholars have sometimes tried their hand at literary criticism informed by Western, especially post-structuralist, thought and practice. Sometimes they have produced impressive work, but all too often they have crossed the line that separates the fruitful application of novel concepts and models from the incantation of jargon. Several causes have contributed to this state of affairs: inadequate knowledge of the source texts, exacerbated by the impoverishment of libraries; a paucity of translations, exacerbated by the sometimes eclectic decisions of publishers concerning which theoreticians and texts to translate; inadequate exposure to examples of good critical practice using the Western theories; and a loss of bearings by the publishing outlets as to what does or does not represent good literary scholarship.

Only one school has emerged that groups a number of practitioners around a particular approach: a small group of feminist literary critics based in the Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences.³ The

1. Vasyl Stus, *Tvory u chotyrokh tomakh, shesty knyhakh*, ed. Serhii Halchenko et al. (Lviv: Prosvita, 1994–99).

2. See, for example, *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury XX stolittia u dvokh knyhakh*, ed. M. S. Tymoshyk et al. (Kyiv: Lybid, 1993–95).

3. These critics have created an NGO now called the Kyiv Institute for Gender Studies.

group appears to be inspired more by the institutional force and presence of feminism in Western academe than by the refinements of its theoretical apparatus. The writings of Vira Aheieva and the late Solomiia Pavlychko are based on a familiar historicist approach to literary scholarship, leavened by common-sense alertness to matters overlooked and injustices done by the patriarchally dominated institution of literary scholarship. In particular, this circle has contributed provocative rereadings of Ukrainian modernism⁴ and of one of the canonical authors of Ukrainian nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, Lesia Ukrainska.⁵

The issue of the need to utilize the literary canon as the starting point for culturally productive debate has been raised on a number of occasions, mainly by Western scholars working in the field of Ukrainian literature.⁶ While much has been done to augment the canon with unjustly silenced voices, there have been very few readings that ask whether the already canonized (including some exponents of socialist realism) deserve their traditional places in the canon. Equally few and far between have been readings that challenge the received images of canonical writers. These few studies include George Grabowicz's critiques of the still prevailing populist accounts of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, and Lesia Ukrainska.⁷

There are three main reasons why questioning the canon in contemporary Ukraine is important. The first is ethical. From the perspective of human justice and truth it is not without significance whether artists and their works enjoy respect or suffer oblivion or whether works judged by certain criteria to be "good" are celebrated less than others that, by these criteria, are

4. Solomiia Pavlychko, *Dyskurs modernizmu v ukraïnskii literaturi* (Kyiv: Lybid, 1997; 2d rev. ed. 1999); Solomea Pavlychko, "Modernism vs. Populism in *Fin de Siècle* Ukrainian Literature," in *Engendering Slavic Literatures*, ed. Pamela Chester and Sibelan Forrester (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 83–103; and Tamara Hundorova, *Prolavlennia slova: Dyskursiia rannoho ukraïnskoho modernizmu. Postmoderna interpretatsiia* (Lviv: Litopys, 1997).

5. Vira Aheieva, *Poetesia zlamu stolit: Tvorchist Lesi Ukrainsky v postmodernii interpretatsii* (Kyiv: Lybid, 1999).

6. See Hryhorii Hrabovych [Grabowicz], "Deiaki teoretychni problemy ukraïnskoho literaturoznavstva," in his *Do istorii ukraïnskoi literatury* (Kyiv: Osnovy, 1997), 14–22, here 18–21; and my article "Kanon ta ikonostas," in my collection *Kanon ta ikonostas* (Kyiv: Chas, 1997), 184–98.

7. George G. Grabowicz, *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Ševčenko* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1982), published in Ukrainian as *Shevchenko iak misfotvorets: Semantyka symvoliv u tворчості поета*, trans. Solomiia Pavlychko (Kyiv: Radianskyi pysmennyk, 1991); and idem, "Kobzar. Kameniar. Dochka Prometeia," *Krytyka*, 1999, no. 12: 16–19.

inferior. The second reason is grounded in the internal needs of literary scholarship as an intellectual discipline. There is a need to take advantage of present access to relatively undistorted empirical knowledge in order to test whether the possession of these new facts alters perceptions of canonized authors and works. There is also a need to articulate judgments concerning items in the canon on the basis, for the first time, of freely made ethical and aesthetic judgments. The third reason is pragmatic. The teaching of the Soviet literary canon helped reinforce ideological instruction. It instilled ideas of relative cultural value (including the relative value of the metropolitan and the colonial cultures). It confirmed the belief that there was one acceptable, consensual view concerning every issue and that individual views, in so far as they diverged from that consensus, had no status or were aberrant. Teaching the canon encouraged the habit of prejudging texts and therefore of reading them inattentively. If one examines instruction aids for teachers of literature, in particular the journal *Ukrainska mova i literatura v shkoli*, renamed *Dyvoslovo* in 1994, one sees very clearly the changes that have been made in the ideological interpretation of canonical works to privilege the new master narrative of nation formation. But one sees little evidence of any attempt to alter the overall purpose of studying literature—for example, to make it part of a strategy for preparing individuals to develop skills of observation and discussion preparatory to independent value judgments.

I would like to consider here a canonical Ukrainian writer, the novelist Olha Kobylianska (1863–1942). I would like to give an account of the genesis of the prevailing perception of her works, of her place in Ukrainian literary history, and of some recent contributions to her reassessment. I would like to draw attention to several significant dimensions of Kobylianska's work that still remain inadequately discussed, and to offer the tentative sketch of an alternative account. Because this presentation is dedicated to the memory of the late Danylo Husar Struk, I hope to keep in mind the values and intentions reflected in Struk's literary criticism. Struk, as emerges from most of his writing, was concerned above all with doing justice to literary works of distinction. Identifying a work with exceptional aesthetic qualities was, for him, a first step that any competent critic performed intuitively. He saw the exposition of the particular qualities of the work perceived as excellent as the proper domain of literary scholarship.⁸ In writing about

8. The closing sentence of Struk's introduction to a volume of Ihor Kalynets's poetry is characteristic of this approach. After a lengthy analysis that attends especially to Kalynets's poetic technique, Struk concludes: "This way of making poetry makes

canonical writers—Kobylianska's contemporary Vasyl Stefanyk is a case in point—Struk sought to envision them afresh, paying attention to how their works were made and how they worked for him. Often the process involved disposing of venerable literary-critical clichés.⁹

Kobylianska is a second-order classic in Ukrainian literature: not one of the big three (Shevchenko, Franko, Lesia Ukrainka) but certainly in the largish cohort of nineteenth and twentieth-century writers that, in the consensual imagination, follows at a respectful distance behind. Other members of this cohort who belong to Kobylianska's generation include Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky, Stefanyk, perhaps Marko Cheremshyna, and Les Martovych. Kobylianska has been the subject of some reinterpretation, partly because of her relevance to the phenomenon of Ukrainian modernism, which has been the most seriously discussed issue in Ukrainian literary scholarship in the last decade, and partly because of her interest to feminist critics (who, as it happens, have also played the main role in the study of modernism). This has meant that Kobylianska is mentioned often when a general point needs to be illustrated in survey studies, which occasionally also contain short analyzes of aspects of her works.¹⁰ There have, however, been few, if any, sustained larger studies that would challenge the old orthodoxies with argument and evidence. No new robust understanding of her works has emerged, and no real attempt has been made to describe them more accurately and completely than was possible in the Soviet era.

Kobylianska was the author of eight novels, including two that are especially celebrated—*Zemlia* (Land, 1902) and *V nediliu rano zillia kopala* (On Sunday Morning She Dug Up Herbs, 1909)—as well as numerous shorter prose works, the most notable of which are, perhaps, *Nekulturna* (The Uncultured One, 1897) and *Valse mélancolique* (1898). She lived almost all of her life in Bukovyna, a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, then of

Kalynets an important modern poet, a poet of cerebral lyricism, a poet who, in my humble opinion, is today Ukraine's best" (Danylo Husar Struk, "Nevolnycha muza, abo iak 'oraty metelykamy,'" introduction to Ihor Kalynets, *Nevolnycha muza: Virshi 1973–1981 rokiv* [Baltimore and Toronto: Smoloskyp, 1991], 31).

9. In the introduction to his book on Stefanyk, Struk announced his intention, on the basis of "careful revaluation," to "alter the interpretation" of the classic, disposing of the "over-simplified" prevailing view in favour of an understanding of Stefanyk as a "master artist." See D. S. Struk, *A Study of Vasyl Stefanyk: The Pain at the Heart of Existence* (Littleton, Colo.: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1973), 10 and 12.

10. See Pavlychko, *Dyskurs modernizmu*; Hundorova, *Prolavlennia slova*; and Iurii Kuznetsov, *Impresionizm v ukraïnskii prozi kintsia XIX–pochatku XX st.* (Kyiv: Zodiak-Eko, 1995).

Romania, and finally (in part) of the Ukrainian SSR during Kobylianska's lifetime. She began writing in German in the mid-1880s, but soon, influenced by her friends, including two of the most important West Ukrainian feminists, Natalia Kobrynska and Sofiia Okunevska, switched to Ukrainian. At the turn of the century Kobylianska's early works, especially the novel *Tsarivna* (The Princess, 1896), became bones of contention in a heated critical dispute. Young modernist critics and writers, among them Ostap Lutsky, Mykola Ievshan, and Hnat Khotkevych, claimed her as one of their own and praised her for (allegedly) championing art for art's sake, cultivating an aristocratism of the spirit, abandoning populist themes, and spurning populist politics.¹¹ Populist critics, foremost among whom was Serhii Iefremov, castigated her for the same alleged qualities.¹² Subsequently Kobylianska distanced herself from the modernists, a manoeuvre that facilitated her integration into the Soviet canon of Ukrainian realist writers.

The received canonical account of Kobylianska is formulated in such authoritative locations as the introductions to the five-volume and two-volume editions of her works,¹³ the chapter dedicated to her in the eight-volume *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature)¹⁴ and the entry on her in *Ukrainska literaturna entsyklopediia* (Ukrainian Literary Encyclopedia).¹⁵ In general terms, this account runs as follows. Kobylianska began with some feminist works that were interesting but of limited importance. Then came the two populist masterpieces, of which *Zemlia* was

11. Ostap Lutsky, "Olha Kobylianska" [1908], in *Ostap Lutsky i suchasnyky: Lysty do O. Kobylianskoї i I. Franka ta inshi zabuti storinky*, ed. Iurii Lutsky [G. S. N. Luckyj] (New York and Toronto: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1994), 109–21; Mykola Ievshan, "Olha Kobylianska" [1909], in his *Krytyka, literaturoznavstvo, estetyka*, ed. Natalia Shumylo (Kyiv: Osnovy, 1998), 199–205; Hnat Khotkevych, "'Zemlia': Povist Olhy Kobylianskoї (Krytychna otsinka)" [1907], in *Olha Kobylianska v krytytsi ta spohadakh*, ed. F. P. Pohrebennyk et al. (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhhnoi literatury, 1963), 104–47.

12. S. O. Iefremov, "V poiskakh novoi krasoty (Zametki chitatelia)" [1902], in his *Literaturno-krytychni stati*, ed. Eleonora Solovei (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1993), 48–120.

13. Maksym Komyshanchenko, "Olha Kobylianska," introduction to Olha Kobylianska, *Tvory v piaty tomakh*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhhnoi literatury, 1962–63), 5–42; Fedir Pohrebennyk, "Olha Kobylianska," introduction to *Tvory u dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1983), 5–20.

14. Fedir Pohrebennyk, "Olha Kobylianska," in *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury*, vol. 5, ed. Ie. P. Kyryliuk et al. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1968), 177–209.

15. F. Pohrebennyk, "Kobylianska, Olha Iuliianivna," in *Ukrainska literaturna entsyklopediia*, vol. 2 (Kyiv: Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia im. M. Bazhana, 1990), 502–4.

“one of the finest works about the village not only in Ukrainian, but in world literature,” whereas *V nediliu rano zillia kopala* was “one of the notable phenomena of the new Ukrainian prose of the early twentieth century.”¹⁶ Her other novels, set in middle-class milieux—*Nioba* (1904), *Cherez kladku* (Across the Footbridge, 1911), and *Za sytuatsiiamy* (In Pursuit of Opportunities, 1913)—were less significant from the point of view both of content and aesthetic achievement, while *Apostol cherni* (Apostle of the Masses, 1926) was altogether something of an embarrassment whose plot deserved retelling only in the most general terms.

This account was not wholly the invention of Soviet literary history. Populist pre-1917 critics, Kobylianska herself, and the nationally minded public opinion of Ukrainian intellectual society in the interwar Western Ukrainian lands and in the emigration contributed to a good deal of it. The reception of Kobylianska passed through three broad phases. The first ended with the debate concerning her modernism. Kobylianska wrote in relative isolation from the Ukrainian literary tradition, and in her works of the 1890s many echoes of early European modernism could easily be identified: feminist, Nietzschean, Darwinist, and socialist ideas and *décadence* as a literary style and a set of thematic preoccupations (nervous hypersensitivity and neurosis, world-weariness, aestheticism, music, and sexuality). In fact, the publication in 1982 of Kobylianska’s remarkable diary showed that this material reflected the author’s own real and imagined experiences as much as it did the modish concerns of the *fin de siècle*.¹⁷ But it was the familiar, classifiable, and categorizable “modernist” Kobylianska who became the football in the match between Iefremov and his modernist opponents.

In her earliest autobiographical note, dated 1898, Kobylianska had professed the aestheticist belief that “the artist or writer should describe an exclusive [vybranu] reality” and that “art and all artistry loves gentleness, that is, refinement and delicacy” (5: 317).¹⁸ In her subsequent autobiographies, written in 1903, 1921–22 and 1927, however, Kobylianska played down her modernist credentials and strove to put as populist a slant on her writing as possible.¹⁹ On the whole this self-interpretation did not contradict

16. Pohrebennyk, “Kobylianska, Olha Iuliianivna,” 503.

17. Olha Kobylianska, *Slova zvorushenoho sertsa: Shchodennyky, avtobiohrafii, lysty, stati ta spohady*, ed. F. P. Pohrebennyk (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1982).

18. Volume and page numbers refer to *Tvory u piatyi tomakh*. All translations are mine.

19. In the autobiography that Kobylianska prepared in 1903 for the Bulgarian writer Petko Todorov, she represented *Zemlia* as “a work faithfully reproducing the life of the people of Bukovyna” (5: 217) and professed a desire “to cast off the old path of

the interpretation that interwar non-Soviet critics in Western Ukraine and in the emigration wanted to place upon her works, some reading her as a belated Romantic or neo-romantic,²⁰ others examining the influence of Nietzsche on Kobylianska and finding it to have been merely superficial.²¹ In Soviet Ukraine, where a collected edition of Kobylianska's works began appearing in the 1920s, critics were initially at a loss as to an ideologically appropriate line of interpretation, and some therefore took refuge in displays of philological erudition—for example, motif history.²² A certain cult of Kobylianska emerged in Western Ukraine, where several of her works entered the curriculum of Ukrainian language schools, and the fortieth anniversary of her activity as a writer was celebrated in 1927 with considerable pomp.²³

The third phase in Kobylianska's reception commenced with the first Soviet occupation of northern Bukovyna in 1940. The official Soviet response to Kobylianska had cooled in the 1930s, and the government of the Ukrainian SSR had stopped the pension it had bestowed upon her in 1927.²⁴ The new regime could equally well have labelled her a bourgeois nationalist (on the basis of her newest work, *Apostol cherni*) or hailed her as a critical realist. In the event, it was decided to follow the latter path. (The archival record of the discussions in which this decision must have been made would make for fascinating study.) Perhaps it was felt that more would be gained

modernism that I once trod" (5: 217). In the long autobiographical letters she sent Stepan Smal-Stotsky in 1921 and 1922, she makes her most explicitly populist statements: "[I] loved the peasants no less than my father did. I loved the people, and I love them to this moment" (5: 239). In a later text, published in 1927 both in the Kharkiv edition of her works and in the West Ukrainian journal *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, Kobylianska dismissed Iefremov's claims concerning her "aristocratism" and emphasized that she had "shunned neither the most onerous labour nor people of lower social station" (5: 223).

20. Dmytro Kozii, "Dukhove oblychchia Olhy Kobylianskoї" [1935–37?], in his *Narysy z literatury i filosofii* (Toronto: Kursy ukrainoznavstva im. Iuriia Lypy, 1984), 302–13.

21. Luka Lutsiv, "O. Kobylianska i F. Nitsshe" [1928], in his *Literatura i zhyttia: Literaturni otsinky* (Jersey City, N.J.: Svoboda, n. d. [1975?]), 151–78.

22. Pavlo Fylypovych, "Istoriia odnoho siuzhetu: 'U nediliu rano zillia kopala!'" [1927], in his *Literatura: Statti, rozvidky, ohliady* (New York and Melbourne: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1971), 345–407.

23. See the long list of celebrations not only in Western Ukraine, but also the Ukrainian SSR, Central and Western Europe, and the Americas in *Olha Kobylianska: Almanakh u pamiątku ii sorokalitnoi pysmennyskoi diyalnosti (1887–1927)*, ed. Lev Kohut ([Chernivtsi]: Iuvileinyi komitet u Chernivtsiakh, [1928]).

24. Nykyfor Tomashuk, *Olha Kobylianska: Zhyttia i tvorchist* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1969), 211 and 219.

for Soviet public relations by embracing rather than repudiating an existing cultural authority. The paralyzed and ill old lady, who by then was capable of very little independent action, was subjected to what must have been painful media attention and no less excruciating visits from a few of the Soviet Ukrainian writers who had escaped being murdered by the regime. She became the witting or unwitting author of a few statements welcoming the Soviet liberators and the new social order they brought with them.

After the Second World War the official codification of the Soviet understanding of Kobylianska took place along the lines described above. Professional literary scholarship demonstrated the usual combination of pro-regime servility and cultural Ukrainophilism in dealing with her heritage. Two important editions saw the light of day during the Khrushchevian thaw: the three-volume edition of 1956 and its five-volume successor in 1962–63. Admirable work was done to collect, edit, annotate, and publish her opus. From the 1960s onward Fedir Pohrebennyk was the unsung hero of these tasks. On the other hand, Kobylianska's work was presented to the reader purged of those elements that could not be accommodated into the profile of a classic worthy of Soviet respect. Pohrebennyk scrupulously tells us what is missing: in the letters, for example, intimate passages (5: 665). The five-volume edition incorporates “only letters of substantial autobiographical, literary-historical, or socio-political significance” (5: 664). This restriction licenses the exclusion as unimportant of any material deemed inappropriate for any reason at all. Of Kobylianska's 174 letters to her closest male friend, Osyp Makovei, only sixty-two are published in the five-volume edition (5: 687). Pohrebennyk later wrote that many letters referring to Nietzsche had to be omitted.²⁵ In its published version the diary, the single most revealing document of Kobylianska's emotional life as a young woman, is full of ellipsis marks. *Apostol cherni* was never published in the Soviet Union and had to wait until 1994 for its republication in Ukraine.²⁶

The official ideological judgment, articulated by Ievhen Kyryliuk and Oleh Babyshkin²⁷ and then reinforced by Pohrebennyk, was that Kobylianska had her heart, politically speaking, in the right place, although circum-

25. Fedir Pohrebennyk, “Miunkhenskyi zbirnyk na poshanu Olhy Kobylianskoi,” *Vyzvolnyi shliakh*, 1996, no. 1: 75–81, here 77.

26. Olha Kobylianska, *Apostol cherni: Povist* (Lviv: Kameniar, 1994).

27. Ievhen Kyryliuk, “Olha Kobylianska,” [1940], in *Olha Kobylianska v krytytsi ta spohadakh*, 187–211; idem, “Velych Kobylianskoi,” *Radianske literaturoznavstvo*, 1965, no. 6: 41–53; Oleh Babyshkin, “Iz statti ‘Tvorchist Olhy Kobylianskoi’” [1952], in *Olha Kobylianska v krytytsi ta spohadakh*, 212–45.

stances prevented her from achieving the insights needed for a truly progressive analysis of society, and several of her works are, unfortunately, not free of contradictions. In several respects, however, she was an innovator in the context of Ukrainian literature, introducing “the woman question” for the first time as a literary theme and furnishing in *Zemlia* an outstanding representation of social conditions in the Ukrainian village. Teachers were encouraged to teach *Zemlia* as a text exposing the evils of private ownership and showing the motif of fratricide as a symptom of capitalism’s deleterious effect upon the human psyche.²⁸

There was no ideological struggle to speak of over Kobylianska between Soviet critics and their postwar émigré counterparts. In the West some of the more interesting interwar criticism was republished, and occasional studies on specialized questions appeared: on Kobylianska’s language and style, for example,²⁹ or on the influence upon her of the popular nineteenth-century German woman novelist Marlitt.³⁰

Until the 1990s, then, the image of Kobylianska was rather stable. The publication of the diaries in 1982, which even in expurgated form should have revolutionized the field, passed with scarcely a ripple. The only hint at a disturbance came from the dissident critic Ivan Dziuba, whose 1965 essay on Kobylianska appeared in the émigré journal *Suchasnist* in 1969. The article is more interesting as an Aesopian anti-colonial text than as a contribution to Kobylianska scholarship. Dziuba provocatively compared Kobylianska’s work directly with West and Central European counterparts instead of locating her initially, as Soviet etiquette required, in the context of Russian literature. His reflections on Kobylianska’s feminism were a pretext for a discussion of the role of Third-World feminisms in the anti-colonial struggle for national self-assertion.³¹

The coming of post-Soviet times ushered in a certain Kobylianska revisionism. The feminist redefinition of Ukrainian modernism did not lead to any full-length analyzes of Kobylianska’s texts, but to the articulation of

28. A. P. Korzhupova, “Problematyka povisti Olhy Kobylianskoi ‘Zemlia’ (Material dlia vchytelja),” *Ukrainska mova i literatura v shkoli* 21, no. 5 (1971): 44–8, here 44; Zenon Huzar, *Vyvchennia tvorchosti Olhy Kobylianskoi: Posibnyk dlia vchyteliv* (Kyiv: Radianska shkola, 1978), 36.

29. Oleksandra Kopach, *Movostyl Olhy Kobylianskoi* (Toronto: n.p., 1972).

30. Anna-Halja Horbatsch, “Ol’ha Kobylians’ka und Eugenie Marlitt (John),” *Jahrbuch der Ukrainekunde*, 1984, 207–15.

31. Ivan Dziuba, “Kilka zistavlen: Chytaiuchy Kobyliansku,” *Suchasnist*, 1969, no. 5: 60–73.

generalizations sometimes more provocative than sustainable. Solomiia Pavlychko, in her *Dyskurs modernizmu v ukrainskii literaturi* (Discourse of Modernism in Ukrainian Literature), for example, unhelpfully alleged that Kobylianska was disappointed in the common people and regarded them as “something like the Nietzschean rabble.”³² This opinion forthrightly contradicts the Soviet consensus and fits in with Pavlychko’s view of Kobylianska as an anti-populist, but a detailed assessment of the evidence will not support it. On the other hand, Pavlychko usefully brings into discussion themes that previously had been inadequately articulated in print: for example, the patronizing and ungenerous attitude toward Kobylianska of the authoritative men of Ukrainian culture—Franko and Iefremov. Pavlychko interprets this as the consequence of a reaction of fear to the challenge that Kobylianska’s thematizing of sexuality may have represented to the conservative patriarchal order in Ukrainian culture, which, Pavlychko believes, Franko and Iefremov were dedicated to maintaining.³³

Pavlychko also singled out for attention the special friendship between Kobylianska and Lesia Ukrainska. The correspondence between the two women was exceptionally tender and affectionate and couched in a private code in which they addressed each other as “someone black” and “someone white.”³⁴ Pavlychko, in pointing out the erotic dimension of such language, set a cat among the pigeons. A journalist jeered in the Russian-language newspaper *Kievskie vedomosti* that Ukrainians could get nothing right: even their cultural icons turned out to be lesbians.³⁵ The public outcry that erupted would reward careful analysis, so revealing it was of colonial and anti-colonial attitudes in post-Soviet Ukraine. In this context it is sufficient to say that while passions raged about the image of Lesia Ukrainska, Kobylianska, being only a second-order classic, was scarcely noticed. Nobody felt obliged to be offended on her behalf.

Tamara Hundorova in her *ProIavlenia slova: Dyskursiia rannoho ukrainskoho modernizmu. Postmoderna interpretatsiia* (The Word Made Self: Discourses of Early Ukrainian Modernism. A Postmodern Interpretation), writing at about the same time as Pavlychko, takes a more moderate position on most matters, proposing, for example, that Kobylianska effects a modernist transformation of the populist sign system, locating the modern differentiated subject within the structure of pre-existent social myths,

32. Pavlychko, *Dyskurs modernizmu v ukrainskii literaturi*, 47.

33. Ibid., 60–8.

34. Ibid., 84–6.

35. For a small part of the debate, see *Kievskie vedomosti*, 20 and 25 September 1997.

including populist ones.³⁶ In 1988 Hundorova had contributed a well-informed and insightful study that placed Kobylianska in the intellectual and cultural context of European turn-of-the-century neo-romanticism.³⁷ In *Prolavlennia slova* she goes further, suggesting that Kobylianska's *Tsarivna*, alongside Franko's *Ziviale lystia* (Withered Leaves) and Lesia Ukrainska's *Blakytna troianda* (The Blue Rose), all of which appeared in 1896, forms part of a process of creating a "new model of communication that rests on forms of non-rational, spiritual, intuitive cognition."³⁸ She discusses this thesis with detailed reference to Franko. There is no corresponding examination of *Tsarivna*, in relation to which the generalization is at least contestable: it could be argued that the motifs of dream, intuition, omen, and other forms of special consciousness that proliferate in Kobylianska's works cohere more completely with a theory that things are ultimately unknowable than with the Romantic viewpoint that privileged knowledge is accessible by non-rational means.

There is not the space here to debate these innovative post-Soviet conceptions of Kobylianska's work. Suffice it to say that a critic trained in the tradition of close reading and accustomed to check the plausibility of claims against textual evidence might wish that important new accounts of Kobylianska had been more firmly anchored in close reading than appears to have been the case.

There may be reasons for a certain revisionist haste in recent critical encounters with Kobylianska. There is understandable impatience to have done with the conventional wisdom of the Soviet era. Furthermore, life is short and Olha Kobylianska is long. The fact remains, however (and Danylo Struk would have agreed) that the first challenge for post-Soviet literary scholarship is to *reread* the texts—that is, to overcome the cultural inertia of prejudging them, of reading selectively to demonstrate a particular pre-existent viewpoint. This presentation is a plea for rereading the classics: perhaps not even rereading them, but reading them for the first time. Criticism of every colour has reflected on the social dimension of Kobylianska's works, their treatment of feminist issues, their relationship to various cultural movements, their favoured motifs, especially nature, art, and the artist, the structure of relationships between characters, and, lately, their treatment of issues of sexuality. But individual works have seldom been

36. Hundorova, *Prolavlennia slova*, 136–7.

37. Tamara Hundorova, "Neoromantychni tendentsii tvorchosti O. Kobylianskoi (Do 125–richchia z dnia narodzhennia)," *Radianske literaturoznavstvo*, 1988, no. 11: 32–42.

38. Hundorova, *Prolavlennia slova*, 207.

adequately described, let alone analyzed and interpreted. The most widely discussed novel, *Zemlia*, for example, has become the captive of a critical legend that has obscured the very thing that makes the work interesting and links it to the rest of Kobylianska's opus. The conventional point of departure for interpretations has been the assumption that the central event in the novel is the killing of a young peasant by his brother.³⁹ But there is no unequivocal fratricide in the book, just as, in the real-life events on which the novel is based, the courts found the alleged perpetrator not guilty.⁴⁰ The key question of the novel is not why Sava killed Mykhailo, but whether he did so, and the central issue is, therefore, not the social or psychological causality that leads to crime, but the obscurity and uncertainty of human affairs, which defy final knowledge.

Whole dimensions of Kobylianska's works, including important aspects of the way in which Kobylianska obviously intended her writings to affect their public, go unnoticed because none of the prevailing prejudices about her works have any use for them. Here are five examples.

1. Substantial space in the longer prose works is dedicated to the depiction of petty malice and tyranny, exercised especially, but not only, by older women against sensitive and artistically gifted or otherwise spiritually elevated heroines. Olena Liaufler in *Liudyna* (A Human Being) is persecuted by her philistine parents; Natalka Verkovychivna in *Tsarivna* by her aunt and guardian Pavlyna; and Anna in *Zemlia* by her mother. At one level, readers are supposed to approve of the proud defiance and moral superiority of the younger women—qualities that generations of critics have seen as manifestations of the heroines' "spiritual aristocracy." But the author, obviously, also expects the reader to derive a special kind of pleasure from these incantations of words that hurt and humiliate and are received by their addressees in mute suffering. We are supposed to enjoy these heroines who are frustrated and bottle up their anger, who punish themselves even more than others punish them, and who turn the other cheek, not out of forgiveness but in a complex strategy of exasperating the tormentor while luxuriating in their own anger and humiliation. Kobylianska's heroines confess to "some kind

39. On this point there has been a chorus of agreement from Iefremov, who in 1902 wrote of the "fact of fratricide" in *Zemlia* (102), to a guide for teachers in newly independent Ukraine: Olesia Kovalchuk, "Pysmennyska pozyscia v povisti Kobylianskoj 'Zemlia,'" *Ukrainska mova i literatura v shkoli*, 1993, no. 2: 16–19, here 16.

40. See Epidelfor Panchuk, "Frahmenty iz spohadiv pro Olhu Kobyliansku" [1961], in *Olha Kobylianska v krytytsi ta spohadakh*, 381–401, especially 397; and his *Hirska orlytsia: Spohady* (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1976), 14–40.

of sad pleasure" (1: 134) or "melancholy happiness" (3: 118 and 130). Is this a ploy of *décadence*? An invitation to the reader to participate in unconfessed sado-masochism by identifying either with the dominatrix or the submissive, or to derive pleasure merely from watching? One possible readerly reaction to such passages is a sense of disgust coupled with a desire to continue reading. A case could be made for regarding them as components of a pornography of psychological violence.

2. Pursuant to the above, hatred is an important component of the psychic world that Kobylianska delineates. Hatred is a fact of life, and Kobylianska's characters cherish it, nourish it, harbour it against others, and direct it at themselves. Sometimes it has causes, sometimes it arises randomly and disappears just as randomly. Hatred can be, but need not be, a companion to the sense of superiority or inferiority that characters feel on account of their being strong or weak, artists or philistines. The self-appointed Nietzschean *Übermenschen* in Kobylianska's works (many of them women) not uncommonly hate the "despicable, dull souls ... hyenas" (1: 126) whose stifling presence obstructs them.

3. Perhaps the most important object of desire in practically all of Kobylianska's works, largely overlooked by criticism, is happiness. Happiness in Kobylianska's work is quite a specific ideal: it is a sense of personal well-being resulting from a mutually desired heterosexual relationship made socially real through marriage. Happiness, therefore, depends on many contingencies; it is rare; when it comes it does so unpredictably; it is easily undermined, and, as the narrator in "Impromptu phantasie" (1894) knows, the human being must be eternally, and humbly, open to the possibility of it: "I await happiness every day, every hour. I sense that life lies before me not as something sad, joyless, difficult to bear, but as one single hotly throbbing festive day, as an enticing, broad, and exciting canvas or as a sonata.... Why is it that in all the radiance that thrills so luxuriously through my soul, there coils something like the crepe ribbon of mourning? And why is it that, although the blood of the future flows in my veins, I have no future, no *noon* in my life?" (author's italics; 1: 463). Happiness is a complicated thing in the middle classes and is almost never found there (although chance does secure some happy endings in Kobylianska's novels). The novella *Nekulturna* is a portrait of a happy woman, a peasant who has few needs and is able to satisfy them all by her own efforts; she was once married on the spur of the moment to a man she did not know, and chance gave her seventeen years of satisfactory married life. Now she sometimes allows men to live with her, but makes them leave if they do not please her. She lives in the mountains, and she savours the beauty of nature. She has

courage and no fear for the future, and this gives her power. Happiness like this is accessible, of course, almost exclusively to “uncultured” people like the heroine.

4. Ethnicity, ethnic identity, and race are important notions for Kobylianska. They were, clearly, part of the politics of everyday life in multi-ethnic Bukovyna under each of the three regimes that Kobylianska experienced. With the exception of a few critics,⁴¹ this has been demurely ignored by scholars. Kobylianska often tells her readers the nationality of her characters. One encounters Ukrainians (whom in her earlier works she calls *rusyny* ‘Ruthenians’), Germanized Ukrainians, Poles, Germanized Poles, Germans, Jews, Roma, Russians, Romanians, and people of mixed ethnic origin. Some important characters whose personality is unstable (*Oriadyn* in *Tsarivna*), or who act immorally (*Rakhira* in *Zemlia*), or whose lack of steadfastness brings death upon them (*Hryts* in *V nediliu rano zillia kopala*), are of mixed racial origin. Kobylianska’s fascination for nationality demands careful study, and it would be premature to offer any but the most tentative observations about it. I would venture to say, nevertheless, that while the works record the prejudicial use of ethnic stereotypes in social practice, they do not themselves subscribe to explanatory models that present nationality as a cause or predictor of behaviour. One finds many allusions in the works to the inheritance of physical and psychological features, to natural selection, to survival of the fittest, to biological strength and weakness, to inbreeding and miscege-nation. Yet these reflections do not coalesce into a theory. More precisely, the fact that they resist systematization is congruent with the general image of the world that emerges from Kobylianska’s works: the world as unknowable, disconnected, bereft of discernible causes, and ultimately mysterious.

5. In contrast to their inconclusiveness on the nature and meaning of ethnicity, Kobylianska’s works reflect fairly simple and clear, though evolving, views on the political goals appropriate for the Ukrainian nation. In the early works the improvement of the social and cultural conditions of one’s people is the duty of a self-respecting intellectual. Later, after the failed attempt to secure Ukrainian nation-statehood during the years 1917–1921, Kobylianska, like most Ukrainian intellectuals in the West

41. Ostap Hrytsai, “‘Valse mélancolique’: Slovo pryyvitu dla Olhy Kobylianskoi v 40–littia ii tvorchosty,” in *Olha Kobylianska: Almanakh*, 289–306, here 304; I. Izotov, “Do kharakterystyky tvorchosty O. Kobylianskoi,” *Chervonyi shliakh*, 1928, no. 2: 80–92; Leonid Biletsky, “Olha Kobylianska,” in his *Try sylvetky: Marko Vovchok, Olha Kobylianska, Lesia Ukrainska* (Winnipeg: Soiuz ukrainok Kanady, 1951), 23–74, here 61–2.

Ukrainian lands, believed in the naturalness and justice of the restoration of an independent Ukraine, the vision of which closes her last novel *Apostol cherni*. The national question, however, is far from the centre of Kobylianska's concerns, and her views on the matter as reflected in the works are, usually, the mainstream ones of the Ukrainian intellectual society of which she was part.

These five lacunae in the description of Kobylianska's works, I believe, are among those that need to be filled before responsible interpretative work from whatever theoretical perspective is undertaken. Among the interpretations waiting to be made are feminist ones. The gender politics of Kobylianska's works—her particular ways of challenging the patriarchal domination of her society and culture—requires attentive critical study, as do the ways in which Kobylianska's texts structure her voice as a woman writer and as a woman using the patriarchal and populist codes available to her. It is not my intention to pre-empt the properly complex feminist study of Kobylianska. What I offer below is the outline of a common-sense, traditionalist, life-and-works account that tries not to ignore the above-mentioned lacunae.

Kobylianska was a woman of the middle class, of considerable intellect, and widely read. As a young woman she reflected upon her strong sexual drives and her parallel desire for a suitable socially sanctioned, heterosexual partnership expressed in marriage. Her desires were unmet and she was unhappy. She thought deeply about the nature and causes of unhappiness and came to no conclusions beyond the inscrutability of human destiny. She saw clearly, no doubt on the basis of her own experiences, that social limits and expectations and the power relations institutionalized in family and society as she knew them led typically to frustration, resentment, anger, even hatred. Yet she believed that even in a deeply flawed society an individual could achieve happiness in the fortunate, and fortuitous, event of a satisfactory psycho-sexual partnership. The diary, the more personal letters, and all of the imaginative works are linked by the vision of the human condition as tending powerfully, but not ineluctably, toward tragedy. This I would see as the basic pattern of all the works. Superimposed upon it are the various social and cultural grids that are present in different combinations at various points of Kobylianska's creative biography and have mainly exercised the critics: the grid of *fin de siècle* ideas and styles, the grids of middle-class and peasant society and their many concerns, and the grid of the decline of a multi-ethnic empire and the rise of national causes. Critics have been so strongly attached to some of these grids that they have paid scant attention to works where these grids are less evident and the essential issues are closer to the surface, such as *Cherez kladku* and *Za sytuatsiamy*.

Having distinguished, for the purpose of this discussion, between an “essential” Olha Kobylianska and the various guises and strategies she adopts in order to be understood, we might have little alternative but to apply a label to her basic worldview, calling her, for example, an incomplete pessimist. In her almost but not quite tragic world, the meaning of the Self can be anchored only in a special relationship with the Other. Such a relationship can come into being, but only as a matter of accident; no amount of virtue or labour can bring it about. On the other hand, we might wish to frame this worldview as a dismissive response to the challenge of Nietzschean *Übermenschen*: you may will your own ascendancy over the world and the rabble to your heart’s content, but chances are that you will not get it.

As for the guises of Kobylianska, the grids I have mentioned, we might wish to explain these in terms of a rhetoric. Kobylianska was never a self-confident writer; on the contrary, so sensitive was she to the preferences of her interlocutors that she adapted her diction to what she imagined would be most palatable to them. She often accommodated herself to the style of her addressee, as Oleksandra Kopach has demonstrated in an analysis of Kobylianska’s letters.⁴² Kobylianska’s diary and correspondence speak of the accommodations that she had to make to family members, friends, editors and publishers. Even her decision to write in Ukrainian was an accommodation to her closest friends. So her imaginative works, too, accommodated themselves to various cultural customs and modes, providing yet another demonstration, this time through aesthetic form, of the sad tenuousness of the isolated self, the dependence of the self for its self-expression upon pre-existent codes or codes generated elsewhere and by others.

If we dislike the idea of distilling a “worldview” out of a body of texts, of reading literature as a pseudo-philosophy, we might take another line not necessarily contradictory to the first. We might read Kobylianska’s opus as a critical inquiry at the end of the Realist age into the sustainability of links between cause and effect. We might observe that for all of Kobylianska’s use of inner monologue to create the illusion of the thought process as the source of human action, for all of her references to genetics and nurturing, in her works, as in her diary, there is never any knowledge of what will happen next. Character changes and objective factors determine nothing, people and their doings remain mysterious, and events in general remain inexplicable even after they have happened. What appears to the naked eye as socio-psychological prose—a fictional but lifelike account of what happens as a consequence of social and psychological determinants—turns into its

42. Kopach, *Movostyl Olhy Kobylianskoi*, 65.

opposite: a revelation of the mystery of what human beings are and do as individuals and in groups.

One rereads not only to re-understand, but also to re-evaluate. Re-evaluating a thing that has canonical value is complicated. Should we continue to give our attention to Olha Kobylianska? This is not the same as asking whether we like Kobylianska today or whether we would buy her books if she were a new author. There is no point in trying to work out whether Kobylianska “appeals” to us. Perhaps her writing is boring, like Franko’s and Homer’s and unlike Shevchenko’s and Shakespeare’s. Such matters are irrelevant to discussions of the classics. When critics deal with the classics, they do not represent the public, they do not try to generalize its taste or predict its judgment. Rather, they defend the classics against public taste. They remind hypothetical readers of the rules according to which the work became important and the circumstances in which this happened. They do this in order that the work and its values might continue to be intelligible, remain in cultural circulation, and stimulate ever new responses. A classic is valuable in the first instance not because it gives (or gave) readerly pleasure, but because in a contemporary cultural context it preserves the potential of becoming contemporary in some ways for some readers.

Today we might be indifferent to the reasons for much of the praise that was heaped upon Kobylianska in the past—the beauty of her nature descriptions that so moved many critics early in the twentieth century, for example. But we might not be indifferent to the passion, movement, and mystery of some of her works, nor to the questions they ask about human fate and the special fate of women. And we might not be indifferent to the record of her young life in her diary, so familiar it seems to us, with its sense of a radically secularized world, with its desiring and frustrated bodies and minds, and with its economics and politics of power and compulsion even in the intimate sphere. Those who are close to Ukrainian culture might not be indifferent to the debates that laid the foundation of Kobylianska’s reputation, because these debates about the relationship between populist authenticity and modernism, and the possibility of their satisfactory integration, are still unfinished. In Ukraine intellectuals are still at the crossroads between modernism and populism, which Kobylianska seemed able to resolve with fewer hang-ups than almost anyone. In this respect she could be a role model. Nor did hang-ups about localism and globalization concern her very much; thus she was leaving her free to be hung up (as, in our better moments, we might like to be) about the human condition.

Vasyl Stefanyk's Literary Monument to the Ukrainian Pioneers of Canada

Jars Balan

Stefan Didukh, who left his native village of Rusiv in Sniatyn county, Galicia, for a homestead in the Canadian West, inspired one of the classics of Ukrainian literature—a short story titled “Kaminnyi khrest” (The Stone Cross). This fact was revealed by the author of the famous work, Vasyl Stefanyk (1871–1936), almost a quarter of a century later, well after the model for the hero of his story had died.¹

The central character of “Kaminnyi khrest” is a Ukrainian peasant named Ivan Didukh. Although he is no longer young and is worn down by hard work, he decides to emigrate to the New World under pressure from his sons, who face a bleak future in their homeland. “For two years, nothing was talked about in our house but Canada and Canada,” complains Didukh to some friends who have come to see him off. “And when they had me up against the wall, and I saw that they’d go on gnawing me in my old age if I didn’t go, I went and sold everything, to the very last stick. My sons don’t want to be hired hands after I’m gone, so they said to me: ‘You’re our father, so lead us away to some land and give us bread, because if you divide between us what you have now, we’ll have little to live on.’ May God help them to that bread to eat. As for me, it doesn’t matter where I die.”²

1. Kirilo (Kyrylo) Stefanyk identified Ivan Achtemiichuk (1834–1914), who emigrated to Star, Alberta (NW 22–54–18 W4M), from the village of Rusiv in 1897, as the emigrant who inspired “Kaminnyi khrest.” See his article “A Son Talks about his Father,” in *Wasyl Stefanyk: Articles and Selections*, comp. and trans. Peter Prokop et al. (Toronto: Kobzar, 1971), 12, 16. Iurii Stefanyk, however, makes a much more convincing case for Stefan Didukh as the model for the fictional Ivan Didukh.

2. Vasyl Stefanyk, *The Stone Cross*, trans. Joseph Wiznuk in collaboration with C. H.

As Didukh and his wife Kateryna bid their neighbours farewell, there is much discussion of the peasants' unhappy plight: they are increasingly squeezed by rising prices, soaring taxes, and land shortage. A gloomy prediction is voiced that the situation will eventually lead to violence and that "people will slaughter one another" in an explosion of built-up tensions.³ The mood turns increasingly dark as Ivan explains to his guests his difficult decision to emigrate. Turning to his wife, who has been sobbing with the other women, Ivan paints a dismal picture of what might be in store for them: "Nothing but skin and bones. Is she fit to leave the clay-stove? You were a decent woman, you worked hard, you were thrifty, but in your old age you're starting on a long journey. Look there, do you see your journey and where your Canada is? There!"⁴ In a chilling acknowledgement of the perils that lie ahead and the cold fate that ultimately awaits them, Ivan dramatically points to a graveyard through the window. Feeling guilty about taking her to an unknown future half-way around the world, he asks his wife's forgiveness in front of all of their long-time friends. This unleashes a flood of tears from the women and prompts the men to bow their heads before Ivan's almost sacramental act of contrition.

Emotionally wrought, Didukh requests that a church service be sung in his and his wife's memory when word of their passing reaches the village, and that the Lord's Prayer be uttered for them at a commemorative meal. He is reassured that the request will be fulfilled. In a calmer mood, Ivan talks about the hill that he successfully cultivated over many years of hard labour and mentions the small cross he placed at the top of it almost as a gesture of defiance. "It was hard moving it, and hard heaving it up to the top, but I did place it there. It's so heavy that the hill can't get rid of it and must hold it on its back, just as it held me. I want to leave that much of a memorial behind me."⁵

Reflecting on how he has spent his lifetime on the hill and how it has crippled him—because of Ivan's twisted back he has been nicknamed *perelomanyi*, "the broken one"—he nevertheless confesses that he will always yearn for the hill like a child yearning "for a nipple." He further discloses that, overcome with grief and anxiety the night before, he had taken leave of his senses and was about to hang himself when he recalled his

Andrusyshen (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart for the Stefanyk Centennial Committee, 1971), 26.

3. Ibid., 26.

4. Ibid., 27.

5. Ibid., 28.

cross. He immediately recovered his sanity and ran all the way to the stone marker on top of the hill. "There I sat for a long, long time ... and somehow I felt relieved."⁶

As a tear rolls down his cheek "like a pearl down a cliff," Ivan makes another request of his fellow villagers: "I beg you, friends, never to pass by my hill when on the Holy Sunday you'll be having the fields blessed. Let some youngster run up and sprinkle the cross with holy water, because, you know, the priest wouldn't go up that hill. I beg this of you very humbly. Never pass up my cross. I'll pray to God for you in the other world, only do carry out grandpa's request."⁷ Mykhailo, Ivan's kinsman, urges him to cast away his sorrows and promises him that his cross will never be bypassed during the annual ritual blessing of the fields on Green Sunday (Pentecost or Whitsundtide).

The story takes on an even more pathetic tone as the villagers begin drinking in earnest. Didukh becomes intoxicated, wallows in maudlin sentimentality, and behaves more and more erratically. In the end the sons have to carry both parents forcibly from the house.

In the final scene of this heart-wrenching tableau, we see Ivan and his wife, accompanied by a crowd of friends and neighbours, leaving the village to begin their long journey to Canada. Half-crazed with grief, Ivan dances alongside his spouse until the sight of the cross briefly brings him back to his senses. "See our little cross, old woman?" Ivan asks Kateryna, pointing it out at the top of his hill. "Your name is carved on it too. Don't worry. My name is also there—mine and yours."⁸ On this sombre note the story ends; Stefanyk's powerful portrait of Ivan Didukh has been etched in a few pages of concise prose.

Stefan Didukh (a.k.a. Diduch and Stephen Diduck), who served as the prototype for the fictional Ivan Didukh, was born in Stefanyk's native village of Rusiv in 1839. His wife Palahna, with whom he had at least two children, Maria and Michael (Mykhailo), was also born there six years later. The Didukh family arrived in Halifax harbour on 9 May 1899 on the S.S. *Brazilia*.⁹ At that time Stefan was sixty years old. Both his children and their families accompanied him. Thus Stefan and Palahna were embarking

6. Ibid., 28.

7. Ibid., 29.

8. Ibid., 32.

9. See Vladimir J. Kaye, ed. and comp., *Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography of Pioneer Settlers of Alberta* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers Association of Alberta, 1984), 65.

on a remarkable adventure for a couple their age, starting a new life when they should have been retiring from life's struggle. The group made the cross-continental trip to the Ukrainian colony that had only recently been established in Beaver Creek, Alberta, a three-day overland hike from the town of Edmonton. There, on 29 June 1899, Stefan Didukh filed for a homestead east of the present-day hamlet of Hilliard (NE 2-54-18 W4). His son Michael took a piece of land just to the north of him (NW 14-54-18 W4) in what was then known as the Beaver Lake district.¹⁰ Two days earlier his son-in-law, Vasyl Gavinchuk, had applied for his free land (SE 2-54-18-W4) south of what is now the town of Chipman, where he established a farm with his wife Maria and their three children.¹¹ The eldest of these Didukh grandchildren, Nicholas (Mykola) Gavinchuk (1889-1968), a boy of nine when the family emigrated, later became a renowned photographer and community activist who made his home in Smoky Lake.¹²

Stefanyk's "Kaminnyi khrest" was first published almost immediately after it was written, in the June 1899 issue of the prestigious Western Ukrainian journal *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*. Subtitled a "study" and dedicated to Rev. Kyrylo Hamorak, it subsequently became the title piece of a collection of nine short prose works issued in 1900 by the Lviv publisher Mykhailo Iatskiv. Only three of the stories in the book appeared in print for the first time; the rest had been published previously either in *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* or in the Chernivtsi newspaper *Pratsia*, where Stefanyk had made his literary debut just three years before. Its editor and Stefanyk's friend, Viacheslav Budzynovsky (1868-1935), had heard him tell the stories and persuaded him to write them down for publication in the paper exactly as he had told them.

Fearing criticism, Stefanyk signed his contributions only with the letter "S." But his fears proved to be unfounded: the response to his first published offerings was, on the whole, extremely positive. In 1898 three more of his stories were printed in *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, and in the spring of 1899 his first book, containing a total of fifteen prose pieces, was published

10. Ibid., 64-5. For more information on Michael Diduch [sic], see J. M. Lazarenko, *A Voice from the Wilderness* (Edmonton: the author, 1986), 17-18. The Beaver Lake district took its name from Beaverhill Lake, an arm of which used to extend north of the modern-day Yellowhead Highway, west of Mundare, at the turn of the nineteenth century.

11. Ibid., 87-8.

12. See *Smoky Lake: Images from Our Past. Featuring the Photography of Nick Gavinchuk (1889-1968)* (Smoky Lake: Town of Smoky Lake and Smoky Lake and District Chamber of Commerce, 1998). Kaye gives 1890 as Gavinchuk's year of birth.

in Chernivtsi by Professor Stepan Smal-Stotsky. Titled *Synia knyzhechka* (The Little Blue Book), it elicited widespread praise among readers, critics, and other writers, earning the twenty-eight-year-old author a place in the front ranks of contemporary Ukrainian literature.

The collection titled *Kaminnyi khrest* was also enthusiastically received when it appeared in 1900. But the stories had taken a terrible toll of the author's mental health. In writing them he had relived the experiences of his characters. At the same time his own life had been fraught with many upheavals. To alleviate the stress and anxiety, he resorted to morphine. His future father-in-law, Rev. Kyrylo Hamorak, was moved to write with some alarm: "Stefanyk, don't write that way, because you'll die."¹³ The Bukovynian author Olha Kobylanska (1863–1942), who had befriended Stefanyk in 1898, was full of admiration and awe when she first read his works. In a letter to Stefanyk dated 4 June 1899, she exclaimed: "Between your words ... large tears were squeezed, like pearls. You write with terrifying power. It's as if you had hewn with a mighty hand a monument for your people. You are the only one who can hew it, next to you we are all worth nothing. Perhaps I could give you a green garland with my weak hand so that you might lay it at the foot of that sad marble monument. Do you hear me, Mr. Stefanyk? We aren't doing anything, you are the only exception. That bitter, wrenching, bloodied poetry of yours ... which one cannot forget. And one always wants to drink it.... And always, and always."¹⁴

Kaminnyi khrest consolidated Stefanyk's reputation as an important new voice in Ukrainian literature. It was followed in 1903 by a third collection of novellen, *Doroha* (The Road), comprised of thirteen titles of which only two were reprints. This time Stefanyk had a Lviv publisher. By then Western Ukraine's most famous writer, Ivan Franko (1856–1916), had hailed Stefanyk as the most gifted writer to have appeared in Ukrainian letters since Taras Shevchenko.

The year 1905 saw a fourth book by Stefanyk, but it consisted mostly of stories from his first two collections and featured only two new titles, one of them an impressionistic autobiography. Titled *Moie slovo* (My Word), the

13. Iurii Klynov, "'Kaminnyi Khrest' V. Stefanyka. Peredistoriia tsiiiei noveli ta ii heroiv," in *Velykyi rizbar ukrainskykh selianskykh dush*, ed. Toma Kobzei (N.p.: Sniatynshchyna, 1966), 123. A photograph of Stefan Didukh's stone cross is reproduced on p. 118. At the time he wrote "Kaminnyi khrest," Stefanyk was enamoured of Rev. Hamorak's daughter, Ievheniia Kalytovska, who was married to a priest. The two decided to curb their affections for the sake of Ievheniia's family life. In 1904 Stefanyk married Ievheniia's sister Olha.

14. Ibid., 124.

volume signaled the conclusion of the first and most productive phase of Stefanyk's literary life and inaugurated a long period of silence. During this dormant period he was active in the political arena, serving as a Radical Party deputy to the Austrian parliament. Curiously enough, although Stefanyk conscientiously attended many of the drawn-out sittings of the House, he never addressed it. In the meantime he established himself as a landowner and a family man. Upon his father's death in 1910 he inherited the family home and eighteen acres of land and moved to his native village of Rusiv. Stefanyk's wife died in 1914, leaving him a widower with three young sons—Kyrylo, Semen, and Iurii—on the eve of the Great War.

More than a dozen years were to pass before Vasyl Stefanyk again set his pen to paper. He began to write in 1916, after fleeing to Vienna in the chaos of the war because his life was in danger. By then, however, his creative energy had been spent: in the opinion of most critics the later stories lacked the hard-edged brilliance of his early writings. In 1926 his last collection of novellen, *Zemlia* (Earth), was published in Lviv, containing eight previously printed novellen, three of which had appeared in the Soviet journal *Chervonyi shliakh*. In this difficult period of his life Stefanyk experienced some financial difficulties, and the royalties from Soviet Ukraine offered a measure of relief. At the same time Communist literary critics cast "the great sculptor of peasant souls" in the mould of the famous Russian realist Maxim Gorky as part of the vigorous cultural revival that was taking place under the banner of Ukrainization. Although Stefanyk's Soviet admirers naturally emphasized his long involvement in socialist politics, he himself always kept a wary distance from both the Soviet Ukrainian government and its pro-Bolshevik sympathizers in Western Ukraine.

In 1927 Stefanyk helped to oversee the production in Kharkiv of the most comprehensive edition of his works so far. Edited by Ivan Lyzanivsky, his writings were slightly revised to make them more accessible to Soviet readers: some of the dialecticisms were replaced by standard Ukrainian. This edition won him a wide following in Soviet Ukraine, where his stories continued to appear in journals. Paralyzed partly by a stroke in 1930, Stefanyk continued to follow the disturbing developments in Russian-occupied Ukraine as Stalinist totalitarianism tightened its grip on Ukrainian society. In 1932 he broke off all contact with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, renouncing a pension he had been receiving from the Soviet government and writing a sharp protest to the Bolshevik consul in Lviv against the growing wave of repressions in Ukraine. Subsequent Soviet references to him never mentioned this breaking off of relations. Although his works continued to be

reprinted by Soviet publishers, his creative legacy and life story were frequently distorted in Soviet sources.

Meanwhile, in 1931 Stefanyk's sixtieth birthday was celebrated by the literary community of Lviv, and this led to the publication of a Western Ukrainian edition of his collected works in 1933. In 1934 he attended a stage production of his stories by the Zahrava Theatre of Lviv under the direction of Volodymyr Blavatsky (1900–53). Thus even in the twilight of his career his literary stature continued to grow. He died on 7 December 1936, after a long period of declining health. Ukrainian literature lost one of its greatest masters of short prose fiction.¹⁵

Over the course of his life Stefanyk was connected to Canada by many threads, some of them personal and some literary. "Kaminnyi khrest," for instance, was published in the Edmonton newspaper *Novyny* on the eve of the First World War, a fitting tribute to the Ukrainian pioneers who had been the catalyst behind the story.¹⁶ In addition to "Kaminnyi khrest," Stefanyk wrote several novellen on Canadian themes, among them "Osin" (Autumn, 1898) and "Klenovi lystky" (Maple Leaves, 1900). These, as well as other works by him, were printed in a wide variety of Ukrainian-Canadian periodicals during and long after his lifetime. His books were also found in the libraries of reading societies and in the homes of many Ukrainian settlers across Canada.

15. For a biography of Vasyl Stefanyk and a critical discussion of his writings, see D. S. Struk, *A Study of Vasyl' Stefanyk: The Pain at the Heart of Existence* (Littleton: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1973). This book also contains Danylo Struk's English translations of a number of Stefanyk's novellen, including "Kaminnyi khrest." I have quoted from the Wiznuk-Andrusyshen rendering of Stefanyk's work simply because it is more widely available. Struk's translations are more faithful to the original in that they attempt to convey some of the flavour of Stefanyk's Pokutian dialect.

16. See *Novyny*, 16 and 19 May 1914. In many respects, Vasyl Stefanyk can be credited for being the first to mythologize the Ukrainian pioneer experience in Canada. By successfully capturing in "Kaminnyi khrest" the tragic-heroic aspect of emigration to the New World, Stefanyk defined how the earliest Ukrainian settlers to Canada would be portrayed subsequently in art and literature (by writers such as Illia Kyriak and George Ryga and the painter William Kurelek) and the identity the immigrants themselves would embrace. How quickly the latter process occurred is rather amazing. "Kaminnyi khrest" was first published abroad in the New Jersey newspaper *Svoboda* in two installments on 27 July and 3 August 1899. Since homesteaders in Beaver Creek, Alberta, and other immigrant colonies were already subscribing to *Svoboda* within a year or two after settling in Canada, they became well aware of being celebrated in literature even as they were still clearing land and establishing their farms.

In the 1920s Stefanyk carried on a lively correspondence with the then Ukrainian-Canadian author and left-wing political activist Myroslav Irchan. The latter greatly admired Stefanyk's writing, and in 1924 published a number of Stefanyk's stories—with the author's permission—in the Winnipeg papers *Holos pratsi* and *Robitnytsia*. On 15 October of that year Irchan's article on Stefanyk marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the writing of "Kaminnyi khrest" appeared in *Robitnytsia*. It was but one of many pieces Irchan wrote on Stefanyk for readers of the Ukrainian-Canadian communist press.¹⁷

Stefanyk never visited Canada, although he had harboured a hope of attending the celebration in Canada of the fortieth anniversary of Ivan Franko's literary career in 1913. His coming to Canada was announced in the Ukrainian-Canadian press a number of times, but other commitments forced him to cancel the trip.¹⁸ Nevertheless, in the year of Stefanyk's death his youngest son, Iurii (1909–85), made an extended visit to Edmonton, where he co-edited the local newspaper *Ukrainski visti* before returning to Western Ukraine in 1938. Subsequently the young Stefanyk emigrated to Canada in 1948, worked as an administrator in Edmonton, and was very active in émigré literary life. Under the pseudonym Iurii (Yuri) Klynovy, he wrote an article about the creative sources of "Kaminnyi khrest," in which, for the first time, he identified Stefan Didukh as the model for the fictional Ivan Didukh. He also wrote an interesting family history titled "Trahediiia i triumf rodu Stefanykiv" (Tragedy and Triumph in the Stefanyk Family), which has been translated into English.¹⁹

The origins of Stefanyk's "Kaminnyi khrest" can be easily traced in his correspondence from the late 1890s. The plight of Ukrainian (then known as Ruthenian) emigrants to the New World was very much on his mind at the time. While studying medicine, he had begun writing the short stories that would soon make him famous. In a letter to Olha Kobylanska at the end of January 1899, Stefanyk gave this moving account of emigrants departing from southern Poland for North America:

17. See Petro Kravchuk, *Lysty z Kanady: Statti, narysy i pamflety* (Kyiv: Radianskyi pysmennyk, 1976), 84–95.

18. See, for instance, the notice of Stefanyk's impending visit published in *Ukrainskyi holos*, 15 October 1913.

19. See Yuri Klynovy, "Tragedy and Triumph in the Stefanyk Family," trans. Jars Balan, in Jars Balan and Yuri Klynovy, eds., *Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984), 73–82.

Today at daybreak at the Cracow train station there were 800 emigrants. If you could see them, you would feel sympathy for these Ruthenians. First of all you would see hundreds of blue, baked lips, and then your heart would be pierced by the many-coloured eyes of the little children—puffy as though saturated with blue water. Next you would see thousands of dirty dry streaks from tears all over their faces, and further you would hear the hoarse sound of Ruthenian talk bouncing off the walls and dispersing in a rusty screeching throughout this foreign land. You would hear many little boots pound on the stones—these are the first boots of the boys and girls; they walk and talk with their eyes and keep looking at their shoes, which they never had before. Afterwards you would see mothers running about crying after lost children, the gentlemen jostling them, their weeping. You would see them getting on the train, shoving the old women into the coaches and shutting them, and then sitting high up in the coaches on top of the parcels. The train begins to move, the men and women hang on to it, the police and the gendarmes pull them off like dough balls, and the train windows shatter and fall in pieces on the platform. Left behind on the platform are women without husbands, lonely children without parents, and men without women. There is wild crying, hand wringing, and cursing. But the train merely blows smoke in their eyes and is gone.²⁰

Four months earlier, also in a letter to Kobylianska, Stefanyk had related how a large number of people had left Rusiv for “America” and the pall of sadness that enveloped both the departing people and those remaining behind.

On 23 April 1899, in yet another of his communications with his Bukovynian colleague and friend, Stefanyk gave this description of his experiences at the train station:

Our emigrants are constantly passing through Cracow. I go to meet them every night. One feels terrible for them and before them. Besides, they are dejected and susceptible to every kind of baseness from people in the Old and New Worlds. The black land that let them go is pitiless. Perhaps that's why their eyes are so lifeless: they can't see the land. The women don't cry, “because we no longer can cry,” the children observe everything with interest, while the men barely drag their feet and look at their wives and children with a kind of fear. Someone, a policeman or a gendarme, is always driving a whole group of them before him, and the group walks so listlessly and automatically that it makes my peasant heart bleed. Entire communities are on the move, driven somewhere, and they themselves don't know where.²¹

But especially interesting is a letter that Stefanyk wrote less than two years before his death to the photographer Nicholas Gavinchuk of Smoky

20. Vasyl Stefanyk, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv v trokh tomakh*, vol. 3 (Kyiv: Akademiia nauk Ukrainskoi RSR, 1954), 166.

21. Stefanyk, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 3: 179–80, quoted by Kravchuk, op. cit., 86–7.

Lake. In it he had this to say about the man whose spirit infused the fictional Ivan Didukh with the authentic breath of human passion:

Your letter reminded me of a lot of things, and I thank you for it and am happy to reply. I remember well your grandfather on your mother's side, Stefan Didukh, as a man who had a most benign influence on me in my youth. He was very wise, quiet, and interested in community affairs and was the first to establish a reading society in Rusiv, in which he was an active member right up to his departure for Canada. With his children and grandchildren, he, as well as many others, left their native land. In that year I was a medical student in Cracow and I met them on the platform of the Cracow railway station in an almost fully packed train. They were the most energetic people in the village, and your maternal grandfather, Stefan Didukh, was one of the most energetic and courageous among them. Right after their departure I wrote "Kaminnyi khrest," where the exact thoughts of your deceased grandfather are quoted almost verbatim. In this way, you could say, I have paid my debt to your grandfather through Ukrainian literature, for he, your grandfather, had a great influence on me in my youth, and I have paid this debt to the best of my ability.²²

In this way Stefanyk preserved the memory of one of the many extraordinary Ukrainian immigrants to Canada.

Once he had settled in Canada, it seems that Stefan Didukh himself corresponded with Stefanyk. Following the theatrical presentation of his novelle in 1934, Stefanyk wrote: "After the show, as I went home, there rose before me other heroes of my stories, specifically Ivan Didukh from 'Kaminnyi khrest.' He hated to forsake his rocky soil, but his children, his daughters-in-law, and daughters gave him no peace, and that was the only reason he fled to Canada. Actually he lived a long time in Canada, but he wrote to me that everything around him was alien and he did not like the farm, although his children were getting on well."²³

It is interesting to note that Stefan Didukh himself seems to have recorded some of his impressions about coming to Canada. A poem titled "Kanadska pisnia" (Canadian Song), composed in traditional *kolomyika* metre, appeared above his name in the Winnipeg newspaper *Kanadyiskyi farmer* in 1906. Although the author's address is not given, it is significant that another poem, printed one column over on the same page, is identified as having been written by Nataliia Kryhirchuk [sic] of Chipman, Alberta. "Kanadska pisnia" is not very original or particularly sophisticated, nor is it autobiographical, as it relates the story of an immigrant who left his wife and

22. Iurii Klynovy, "Heroi Vasylia Stefanyka v diisnosti," in his *Moim synam, moim priyateliam: Statti i eseji* (Edmonton and Toronto: Slovo, 1981), 120.

23. Ibid.

children behind in the old country. Nevertheless, it does provide a fascinating glimpse into the mind and heart of the “real” Ivan Didukh by expressing his feelings about Canada and his native land.²⁴

Stefan Didukh died on 29 January 1911. His son Michael had died in a railway accident near Lethbridge six years earlier.²⁵ Although Stefan is said to have been buried at the cemetery “next to the Hryhorchuk farm” (also spelled Hryhircuk, Hryhircuk, Hreherichak, and since shortened to Herchak) near Chipman and Hilliard, there is no marker bearing his name among the graves beside the “Russo Greek Orthodox Catholic Holy Assumption Church of Shishkovtzy” built in 1903. It is probable that one of the unmarked burials at the site belongs to him, and another to his wife Palahna, who died in 1913. No doubt their plots had wooden crosses, which were eventually destroyed in a grass fire.²⁶

Stefanyk’s “Kaminnyi khrest” continues to live on in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian literature through reprints, translations, and adaptations for different media. The cinematic rendering of the work by the Dovzhenko Film Studio in Kyiv in 1968 was particularly successful. This hour-long black-and-white treatment combines three Stefanyk stories in a powerfully evocative film. Unfortunately, it was never internationally distributed. Adapted for the screen by the poet Ivan Drach under the title *Kaminnyi khrest*, it can now be obtained on video with English subtitles.

Today a large bust of Vasyl Stefanyk stands in the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village east of Edmonton just a few kilometres from the original homestead and final resting place of his neighbour and model emigrant, Stefan Didukh.

24. See *Kanadyiskyi farmer*, 20 September 1906.

25. In a curious coincidence, another Ivan Didukh, also born in the village of Rusiv, died at the age of thirty-four in a mining accident in Lethbridge on 9 September 1917.

26. “Shishkovtzi” church, as it is also sometimes spelled, is named after the village of Shyshkivtsi in Bukovyna. The pioneer-era structure was relocated in 1965 to the Shandro Historical Museum and Village on Secondary Highway 857 north of Willingdon. The present-day sanctuary by the cemetery site three and one-half miles north of Highway 16 was erected in 1963. See *Pride in Progress: Chipman - St. Michael - Star and Districts* (Chipman: Alberta Historical Rose Society, 1982), 169–71. Controlled burns were often used to clean overgrown cemeteries; occasionally they got out of hand and destroyed the wooden crosses that were typical of the early settlement years.

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The Politics of High Culture: Petro Karmansky's “Malpiache zerkalo”

Myroslav Shkandrij

Poets are a fastidious race, and in Canadian poetry we have to give some place, at least at the beginning, to the anti-Canadian, the poet who has taken one horrified look at the country and fled.

Northrop Frye

By the end of the nineteenth century the Ukrainian movement in Western Ukraine had moved into what Hroch has described as the third, “political” stage of national movements, a stage characterized by mass agitation and mobilization.¹ A qualitative change in the consciousness of younger activists had been produced by the large number of publications, schools and university courses, co-operatives, and elected parliamentary representatives. The appearance at the turn of the century of Ukrainian modernist writers coincided with the national movement’s demonstration of its seriousness and cohesion.

One of Western Ukraine’s most prominent modernists, Petro Karmansky, achieved fame early in the twentieth century with several collections of

1. Hroch’s three phases are: (1) the academic stage, which is led by intellectuals who study the nation’s folklore and history; (2) the cultural stage, characterized by greater use of the vernacular, the spread of educational and literary activities, and the emergence of a press; and (3) the political stage, characterized by the establishment of national parties and mass mobilization (*Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, trans. Ben Fowkes [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985]).

poetry.² In 1913 he was invited by the immigrant community in Canada to lecture at a government school for Ukrainian teachers. During his year in Canada he created a scandal by attacking the Liberal Party's policy of closing bilingual English-Ukrainian schools and by satirizing Ukrainian-community life in a series of articles titled "Malpiache zerkalo" (The Monkey's Mirror) in the Ukrainian-language Winnipeg newspaper *Kanada*.³ The episode throws light on the history of Ukrainian modernism as an attempt at disseminating and codifying a high culture and imposing an anti-colonial meta-narrative in a resistant, culturally heterogeneous diasporic community.

Karmansky has been portrayed occasionally as a maladjusted bohemian and incorrigible aesthete. However, his books such as *Al fresco* (1917) and *Za chest i voliu* (For Honour and Freedom, 1923) demonstrate that he was a committed patriot.⁴ Even before he had written these works, in his Canadian writings he had shown himself to be a modernist nation builder who rejected cultural hybridity and accepted anti-imperialist nationalism. The stereotypes of modernism as a turn away from social involvement to introspective psychologization and aestheticism and of Karmansky as an embittered misfit enamoured of foreign vogues and insensitive to national concerns have been created largely by hostile critics and require reappraisal.⁵ His views have also been obscured by the post-Second World War memoirs attributed to him, which were almost entirely fabricated by the Soviet regime with the purpose of discrediting both Ukrainian nationalism and the Vatican.⁶

2. *Z teky samovbyvtsia* (1899), *Oi liuli, smutku* (1906), *Bludni vohni* (1907), and *Plyvem po moriu tmy* (1909).

3. "Malpiache zerkalo," *Kanada*, 16, 23, and 30 September; 7, 14, and 28 October; 4, 11, 18, and 25 November; 2, 9, 16, and 27 December 1913; and 3, 10, and 17 February; 3, 10, 17, 24, and 31 March; and 7 and 14 April 1914. The series has been republished recently as Petro Karmansky, *Mavpiache dzerkalo (Lysty z Kanady i pro Kanadu do "Kanady,"* prepared by Myroslav Shkandrij (Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1998). For a recent study, see Maryana Nikoula, "Analysis of a Canadian Literary Scandal: Petro Karmansky's *Monkey's Mirror*" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1996).

4. This puzzling discontinuity in his life and work have led to calls for a reassessment of his entire career. See Maksym Rylsky, "Pro poeziu Petra Karmanskoho," in Petro Karmansky, *Poezii* (Kyiv: Ukrainskyi pysmennyyk, 1992), 11; and Leonid Rudnytsky, "Petro Karmansky: Poet, polityk, patriot," *Suchasnist*, 1989, no. 3: 10.

5. For Mykhailo Rudnytsky it was "difficult to imagine what he believes in and what routes he takes in order to get from loss of faith in life's meaning to hymns in honour of the national spirit" (*Vid Myrnoho do Khylovoho* [Lviv: Dilo, 1936], 296).

6. See P. Karmansky, *Kriz temriavu: Spohady* (Lviv, 1957). One witness has written:

Karmansky was a product of the central and east European modernism of the 1890s. His literary tastes were Romantic and symbolist (Goethe, Shelley, Heine, Leopardi, Baudelaire, and Poe). He apotheosized the poet as creator and expressed contempt for the philistine, particularly for the new petty bourgeois, the uncultured man of action produced by mass industrial civilization. Modernists set the artist's calling above that of the journalist, businessman, or politician: the artist, in their view, inhabited a realm of freedom and dealt with eternal truths, while the practical man trafficked in derivative, simplified, and conformist views. Like Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin, and other nineteenth-century apostles of high culture, the modernists believed in hierarchies and saw the artist-intellectual as a cultural high priest and leader.⁷

Karmansky had absorbed many of these ideas through Polish literature. He was born and received his early education in Poland. His conversion to a Ukrainian identity had been a gradual process, which owed much to teachers in the Ukrainian high school he attended in Peremyshl (Przemyśl). After graduating from the Ukrainian Greek Catholic seminary in Rome and completing his training for the priesthood, he refused to take holy orders, enrolling instead in the Faculty of Philosophy of Lviv University. Some time before completing the seminary he had become an atheist.⁸ In the years that followed, he worked as a private tutor, and in 1911 he qualified as a teacher. He saw himself as a "Roman": a cosmopolitan, free-thinking lover of the arts who recognized the values of the Enlightenment and classical antiquity as supreme.

In his dealings with Ukrainian society, however, Karmansky played the part of a patriot and defender of the faith. This explains in part why in Canada this aesthete and atheist became a political activist and spokesman for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. When he began writing for the

"No one even attempted to interview Karmansky, because his sclerosis prevented him from recalling not only the pope's name, but even his own father's" (M. Hryhorovych, "Zhandarmy z obkomu," *Novyi shliakh* [Toronto], 1985, no. 3; *Novoe russkoe slovo*, 2 October 1984; and *Literaturna Ukraina*, 4 June 1992.) *Kriz temriavu* reads like the reworked record of an interrogation, including comments by the interrogators. Inaccuracies abound. Karmansky's arrival in Canada is placed in mid-July 1914, a year late.

7. Karmansky mentions reading Ruskin in *Kriz temriavu*, 46.

8. Witnesses report that Karmansky agonized over his break with the church, particularly over dashing the hopes of his patron, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, "who hoped he would become a fine religious poet." See Vadym Shcherbakivsky, "Moie perebuvannia na pratsi v muzeiu o. Mytropolita A. Sheptytskoho u Lvovi, 1908–1909," in the Karmansky Archive, National Museum, Lviv.

newspaper *Kanada*, he announced that, under Mark Twain's influence, he was adopting a new comic manner that departed from the "tearful laments" for which he was known.⁹ From this point on, his energetic pedagogic, diplomatic, and literary work on three continents—in Canada, Brazil, Austria, and Ukraine—was meant to bring high culture and national consciousness to the broad masses. Any view of aesthetic culture as unconnected with politics was incompatible with this commitment.

Karmansky's Canadian writings, therefore, reshaped the earlier concept of modernism by playing down individualism and internationalism and adhering to the narrative of national liberation.¹⁰ He still defended aesthetic refinement, but in utilitarian terms by stressing its importance to national culture as a sharpening of sensibilities, an extension of literary modes and genres, and an appropriation of European trends. The task of building a high culture became Ukrainian modernism's response to Polish and Russian disparagements of Ukrainian culture as provincial and intellectually impoverished. Karmansky's ideal Ukrainian was a sophisticated patriot, familiar with European culture but aware of an overriding obligation to his homeland. Karmansky's chief enemies were radical social movements, which denied high culture, and imperialism, which produced hybrid cultures and led to assimilation.

The writer's decision to support the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is therefore understandable. As a defender of high culture and a conservative nationalist, he saw the church as an indispensable mainstay of tradition. In any case, a romantic authoritarian like himself, with a pessimistic, Schopenhauerian view of modern civilization, found much that was congenial in the Catholic critique of modernity.¹¹ The alliance with the Vatican, however, posed dilemmas, as it had always done for Ukrainian intellectuals. The church of Rome could serve as a higher authority and court of appeal, a counterweight to the assimilationist and Latinizing tendencies of the Polish hierarchy in Western Ukraine and the French clergy in Western Canada. But

9. *Kanada*, 23 September 1913.

10. It has been claimed mistakenly that the political stance first appeared in the post-revolutionary *Al fresco*. See Petro Liashkevych, "U halerei Al fresko," *Pereval*, 1993, no. 1: 148–52.

11. As a crypto-atheist, however, Karmansky must have been appalled by the church's reactionary views. This was a decade in which Pope Pius X (1903–14) condemned modernism in the church (which had championed the right of Catholic theologians to engage in historical Biblical criticism) and had, in 1910, required priests to take an anti-modernist oath recognizing miracles and prophecies as evidence of Christianity's divine origins.

it could also promote those same assimilationist tendencies. The French hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in Manitoba, in the person of the archbishop of St. Boniface, Louis-Phillipe-Adélard Langevin (1855–1915), had resisted for a long time the idea of accepting Ukrainian priests and a Ukrainian bishop. It was only in 1912 that Langevin relented under the pressure of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky's intervention and the prospect of mass defection by Ukrainian Catholics, who were already the largest Catholic community on the Prairies. The first Ukrainian priests were allowed to come, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was given a jurisdiction in Canada, and the first Ukrainian bishop, Nykyta Budka, was sent from Galicia in 1913. Karmansky had probably already met Budka in Ukraine. It is even possible that the bishop arranged his passage to Canada. In any case Budka became the personification of Karmansky's ideal—the culturally refined, nationally conscious intellectual-leader.

Karmansky taught in Winnipeg during the summer of 1913; in September he began lecturing at the Brandon Ruthenian Training School. In *Kanada* he expounded pro-Conservative and pro-Catholic positions. The editorial to the first issue (2 September) stated that the Ukrainian community in Canada was too weak to play an independent role in politics and needed to "compromise with more powerful forces." The writer stressed the advantages of an alliance with the Conservative Party and supported Budka against the local intelligentsia. In return the bishop tried to find Karmansky permanent employment in Canada: on 31 January 1914 he petitioned the Canadian government "in the interest of mutual understanding between the English and Ruthenian people" to appoint "a permanent Lecturer on Ruthenian history, literature and art, at one of Canada's Western Universities."¹²

Bishop Budka and Karmansky both remained silent on Langevin's refusal to allow married priests or parish control of church property. Whatever differences they may have had with the French clergy, they seem to have found a supportive atmosphere in the Catholic establishment. As Orest Martynowych has made clear, the clergy were uncompromising opponents of the modern world and its democratizing tendencies.¹³ Their

12. Bohdan S. Kordan and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, eds., *A Delicate and Difficult Question: Documents in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, 1899–1962* (Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1986), 27.

13. Orest T. Martynowych has written: "Alienated from France by the radical secularism and anticlericalism of the French Revolution and the Third Republic, they subscribed wholeheartedly to ultramontanism, which championed the unqualified supremacy of papal authority" (*Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891–1924* [Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991], 166).

quarrel with democratic and industrial society led to a siege mentality: “Priests saw freemasons, Jews, freethinkers and republicans everywhere, conspiring with liberals, Orangemen and Protestants to bring down the Catholic church and the eternal verities that held society together.”¹⁴ Langevin had a particular dislike for the federal and provincial liberals, who represented for him “the sum total of all the heresies” and “the triumph of Freemasonry.”¹⁵ Karmansky’s reliance on the Conservative Party and Catholic Church gave him the courage to take a strong partisan line in Kanada.

A provincial election was imminent and the notoriously corrupt¹⁶ Conservative government of Rodmond Roblin appeared to be heading for defeat. Bilingual education was a burning issue. Great pressure was being exerted on the Manitoba Conservatives (and on the governing Liberal parties in Alberta and Saskatchewan) to cancel bilingual English-Ukrainian schools. The argument focussed on the low professional qualifications and poor command of spoken English by Ukrainian teachers. The *Free Press* in Winnipeg ran a series of inflammatory articles making these points at about the same time as Karmansky arrived in Canada. In October 1913 Charles Bruce Sissons voiced similar views in an article titled “Illiteracy in the West,” which was published in Montreal’s *University Magazine* and then partly reprinted in the *Free Press*.¹⁷ As soon as the Ukrainian-community leaders learned that Ukrainian bilingual teachers would be removed from Alberta schools in September 1913, they protested, arguing that their teachers, who were products of the Brandon school and had often received their previous education in European cities, were well qualified and that their

14. Ibid, 167.

15. Ibid.

16. Described as such by Martynowych in his review of Karmansky’s *Mavpiache dzerkalo* in the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 24, no. 1 (Summer 1999): 120.

17. C. B. Sissons, “Illiteracy in the West,” *The University Magazine* 12 (October 1913): 440–51; extracts appeared in the *Free Press*, 17 October 1913. The *Free Press* printed only a small section of the article, which questioned whether “foreigners” after three years training in government schools, followed by eight weeks in Provincial Normal Schools, could do “really sound teaching.” It did not publish the rest of his article, which indicted the provincial government for inadequate spending on education, failing to make primary education compulsory, and turning a blind eye to the exploitation of child labour. Karmansky seems to have been unaware of this thrust in Sissons’s article. He was, however, correct in assessing the prejudice against “foreign” teachers and bilingual schools. Sissons wrote in his article: “Alberta has specialized on the ‘foreign’ problem, and proved that bilingual schools, among European peoples at least, are a delusion” (p. 450).

command of English was adequate. A delegation was sent to Manitoba's minister of education. Permission was obtained to enrol another seventeen students at the Brandon school, and Karmansky was appointed instructor in Ukrainian language, literature, and history in September 1913.

The Conservative Party appears to have provided Karmansky with funds to publish his newspaper in order to attack Liberal policies and give the Tories a sympathetic hearing in the large and growing Ukrainian community. "Malpiache zerkalo" was serialized from 16 September to 14 April 1914. It lambasted Anglo-Saxon chauvinism and Liberal policy. The favourite targets were *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, the Liberals' Ukrainian-language organ in Winnipeg, and the independent intelligentsia grouped around *Ukrainskyi holos*. Karmansky took the line that the Ukrainian community should exploit overtures from the Conservatives in order to block the changes the Liberals proposed.

Ukrainskyi holos claimed that Karmansky was being used by the Conservatives. The community, it argued, should rely on its own resources: no Canadian party would help it if it did not help itself. A polemic ensued, and for six months it occupied practically every issue of *Kanada*, *Ukrainskyi holos*, and other newspapers. The *Free Press* waded in, accusing Karmansky of racism.¹⁸ As in Galicia, where Ukrainians, resisting Polonization, were demanding their own schools, in Western Canada the issue for the community was one of self-preservation. Karmansky's defence of bilingual education was welcomed by other publications, and the Conservatives won the election of 1914.

The pressure for social reform and the abolition of bilingual education in the name of "one language for all" and "one Canadian nation" continued to build, however. The Tories were defeated the following year, and in 1916 the Liberal government gave women the right to vote in provincial elections, legislated prohibition and compulsory education, and eliminated Ukrainian-English bilingual instruction on the grounds that English was the working language of the province. In spite of community protests and boycotts, Ukrainian teachers were replaced, often by immigrants from the British Isles.

The debate on bilingual schools had coincided with a surge of agitation for temperance, woman's rights, the elimination of prostitution, and other social policies. Karmansky, having aligned himself with the Conservative government, appeared to reject all calls for reform. He branded the new Canadian intelligentsia as prone to radical trends and assimilationist pressures and as ignorant upstarts who were depriving the community of true culture and national consciousness. Later, in 1915, following his work in Ukrainian POW camps in

18. "Professor Karmansky Racial Firebrand," *Free Press*, 27 December 1914.

Germany and Austria, he wrote a similar denunciation of the leaders of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (Soiuz vyzvolennia Ukrainy), who had hired him as a cultural educator.¹⁹ In the 1920s he denounced as reactionaries the Basilian Fathers, who were dominant in the Ukrainian immigrant community in Brazil.²⁰ Upon his return to Western Ukraine in the 1930s, Karmansky also characterized the Galician intelligentsia as a gallery of “invalids from the National Museum.”²¹ The rationale in each instance is to be found in his view of culture and its social function. In debates with the populist intelligentsia during the twentieth century’s first decade, the Ukrainian modernists had not merely called for a more sophisticated, aesthetically satisfying literature, but had attacked the national leadership’s willingness to sell out to foreign interests. There was a close connection in their minds between high culture and patriotic, anti-imperial politics. A national revival, they argued, required a new, highly cultured, and self-critical intelligentsia that, through schools, the arts, and criticism, would inculcate national awareness in society. Without the leadership of this kind of intelligentsia there would be a loss of national identity. Karmansky levelled “modernist” charges of obscurantism and national sabotage against the Ukrainian-Canadian community leadership and later repeated them against the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Basilian Fathers in Brazil.²²

The Ukrainian intelligentsia in Canada, the community’s social and political vanguard, often lacked higher education and professional skills, and the Catholic community had lived on the Prairies without priests since immigration began twenty years earlier. On the other hand, community

19. See P. Karmansky, “Shliakhom vyzvolnoi borotby (Spomyny),” in the National Archives of Canada (Ottawa), Manuscript Division, Ethnic Archives, V. Biberovych Papers MG30 D158, vol. 4, file 18.

20. See Petro Karmansky, *Chomu? Prychynky do misionarskoi diialnosti Vasyliian u Brazyl’ii* (Union da Victoria: the author, 1925). For the Basilian Fathers’ view of Karmansky, see Vasyl Zinko, *Ridna shkola u Brazyl’ii* (Prudentopolis: Vyd-vo o. Vasyliian, 1960), 22–5, 80; and Volodymyr Burko, *Ottsi Vasyliiany u Brazyl’ii* (Prudentopolis: Vyd-vo o. Vasyliian, 1984), 32–3.

21. See Petro Karmansky, *Ukrainska bohema: Z nahody trydtsiatlititia “Molodoi Muzy”* (Lviv: Krasa i syla, 1936), 12.

22. In all cases Karmansky saw himself as fighting for the common people against an unqualified community leadership, usurpers who held hegemonic sway over the population. It is interesting, however, that in Brazil he supported the secular “Protestants” against the “Pharaoh-like despotism of the Basilians” (Karmansky, *Chomu?* 90). This might partly be attributed to a radicalization of his views that took place during the Ukrainian Revolution and subsequent wars with Poland and Soviet Russia of 1918–20, and partly to his experience in Canada.

leaders were self-reliant and not afraid to reject tradition in the name of adjustment to new circumstances. Many had been influenced by Galician socialism or democratic and egalitarian ideas within Protestant denominations in Canada. "Malpiache zerkalo" is a record of Karmansky's attack on these attitudes, which, in classic anti-colonial fashion, he regarded as promoting a dangerous hybridity and a dilution of Ukrainian culture. The "letters" reject attempts at creating a Ukrainian Protestant Church or at uniting with Russian Orthodoxy. They satirize the community leaders in the image of Klym Salamakha (*salamakha* in Ukrainian means 'confusion'): "Any Klym Salamakha in this newly baked Canadian republic can set about 'reforming' the church, the schools he has never attended, the public, the state, and humanity."²³ In its pursuit of change the new intelligentsia advocates "radicalism, liberalism, anarchism, socialism, communism, atheism, nihilism, and other isms that define the modern man as free, progressive, and unlearned." Its qualifications for leadership are found wanting, and its claims to being progressive are dismissed. In an imaginary dialogue between Mykhailo Drahomanov and Ivan Franko, the former says: "First, let's take the socialists. True, we were also socialists. But Canadian socialists are nothing but the negation of progress, truth, and freedom."²⁴ The independent, non-partisan intelligentsia grouped around *Ukrainskyi holos* is characterized as an "ever-changing chameleon" that infects readers with "character deficiency, public indiscipline, and immorality."²⁵

The year 1913 happened to be the fortieth anniversary of Ivan Franko's literary activity. A giant of Ukrainian letters and a socialist, Franko was being honoured by literary readings in Winnipeg and throughout the Ukrainian-speaking world. Karmansky, who knew the writer from his bohemian Lviv days, could not resist aiming a blow at the "socialist" image of Franko being constructed in Canada. "Malpiache zerkalo" suggested that in Franko's final years the old radical had suffered a moral-religious crisis that reduced him to sobbing in churches and asking forgiveness of the people. Unsupported by any evidence, this was seen as a mean-spirited, politically motivated jibe.²⁶ Following this episode, the reforming intelligentsia occupied the patriotic high ground in the debate, while Karmansky was viewed increasingly as an implacable, embittered outsider.

23. *Kanada*, 18 November 1913.

24. *Kanada*, 10 February 1914.

25. *Kanada*, 17 February 1913.

26. In fact Franko had suffered a breakdown of his mental and physical health in the years before his death in 1916.

Another of Karmansky's attacks was levelled against Orest Zhrebko, a prominent defender of Ukrainian bilingual schools and a critic of Anglo-Canadian chauvinism, who was accused of Ukrainian nationalism in the English-language press. He had visited Ukraine during the fall of 1913 and reported on conditions in Lviv. Karmansky ridiculed Zhrebko's knowledge of Ukraine and humiliated him by making fun of his B.A. (In 1913 Zhrebko was the University of Manitoba's first Ukrainian graduate.) He referred repeatedly to Zhrebko only as "the BA." Commentators justifiably have complained about Karmansky's maliciousness and his method of arguing, which often relied on deflation, snobbery, and heavy sarcasm. The charge has been made frequently that his use of foreign words—Latin, German, Italian, and French—and his love of the evocative, erudite phrase were no more than a display of cultural superiority.

Who is qualified for the noble task of cultural-moral education? Karmansky makes it clear that in the Canadian vacuum the Catholic clergy has a major role to play:

There is no one to enlighten the people and to awaken in them a sense of national dignity.... When the long-awaited bishop [Budka] came to Canada, all the so-called intelligentsia immediately treated him with hostility. No one asked why he had come, what his aims were, how he intended to act, [or] whether he was planning to save his people from denationalization, drunkenness, Jewish exploitation, the ignorance of tricksters.²⁷

He summarizes his position on the leadership question:

And so it seems to me we have only one path: to drop all our group politics, which lead only to arguments and partisan fights, to drop our religious skirmishes... to leave our people with the ancient church of its ancestors, which has served and continues to serve them well in the old country, and, having fortified ourselves in this way, to engage in a real politics, i.e., to attempt to dictate our demands to the government.... We will only grow stronger through unity and self-organization. My fondest hopes for realizing such desired ideals rest [first] on an intelligent and serious press, then on the work of idealistic and organized teachers and clergy—a genuine clergy that has some experience in community work, the required degree of idealism, and the will to dedicate itself. To these workers could be added some of the urban, [nationally] conscious, idealistic intelligentsia.²⁸

Karmansky stresses education as a criterion of leadership selection: "What is the point of education when any boor ... can get rich, proudly thrust out

27. *Kanada*, 7 October 1913.

28. *Kanada*, 25 November 1913.

his belly, and make fun of poor Austrians with university degrees."²⁹ The fraying of the social fabric and degeneration of moral values, he points out, can only be arrested by respect, acquired through schooling, for culture, tradition, and the community.

The ultimate causes of the social and cultural degradation in Canada, states Karmansky toward the end of the "letters," are to be found in contemporary philosophy: "I am not surprised that our ignorant lawyers, pastors, and editors are such fervent supporters of Nietzsche's 'revaluation of all values.'"³⁰ The cult of the individual and personal freedom, which in the turn-of-the-century Galicia produced the charming eccentrics of the Moloda Muza writers' group,³¹ was not to be encouraged in Canada, where it could only lead to denationalization. His favourite example of a man cut loose from the restraints of tradition was the self-appointed "archpatriarch" Makarii, who "for a few cents will certify you a bishop, a hetman, a Ukrainian university professor, etc. This is the freedom that our individualism has nourished."³² The bohemian individualism of Moloda Muza, he explained, was sanctified by the great cause of high culture, the great European tradition in literature and the arts; but the reform-minded Protestants, socialists, and independents in Canada, while claiming to follow their individual consciences, are bent on escaping this great civilizing influence. Their individualism is an expression of personal egoism, obscurantism, and vulgarity; in a word, a denial of culture.

The missionary of high culture thus found himself in the position of a nostalgic, backward-looking traditionalist allied with reactionaries against reformers. Like Matthew Arnold, he seems to have become alarmed at the dangers modern individualism posed in the economic, political, and personal realms by appearing to sanction competition, irresponsible subjectivity, and unbridled freedom. The schools and the church were of desperate importance because of their regulative powers and their ability to channel individual dissidence into national unity.³³

29. *Kanada*, 31 May 1914.

30. *Kanada*, 7 April 1914.

31. Karmansky later affectionately described them in *Ukrainska bohema*.

32. *Kanada*, 7 October 1913.

33. Karmansky's position is very similar to that of Rev. Oleksa Prystai, who described the Ukrainian American community in 1910 as controlled by saloon owners and socialist radicals: "They captured in it [the community] those rights that should belong in the first place to the bishop and clergy, and compromised it, humiliated it, and, in the end, brought it to ruin. The priests and bishops were powerless to bring order to it. They were sent here too late, when the entire structure had already been built and had put roots into

Karmansky, however, was not an aloof observer, but a fiercely outspoken activist. His pessimism was not incapacitating, as evidenced by his cultural work in the community (among “our Canadian Indians,” as he put it) and later in the Ukrainian diaspora of South America and Europe. Anti-imperialism is an important and invigorating element in his thought. Although Karmansky directed his Canadian satires primarily against the immigrant community leadership, he singled out British hegemonic notions as an assimilationist threat to the community. Immigration had peaked in the years 1912–13, with some 400,000 people moving to Canada.³⁴ The large number of East Europeans, mostly Ukrainians, in Canada particularly disturbed the Anglo-Saxon elite, who began expressing fears about their inability to dominate and absorb so many newcomers. Played out against the background of rising unemployment, an economic recession, strikes, the War Measures Act, and concern about the assimilability of East Europeans and their loyalty to Canada, the issue of bilingual schools reflected deeper anxieties. For many settlers of Anglo-Celtic extraction, the Ukrainians were an uncivilized people whose “Canadianization” was a matter of national security. The British Empire at that time covered a fifth of the earth’s surface and was, in the eyes of newspapers such as *The Christian Guardian* destined to assimilate all “adolescent races unequal to the full burden and responsibility of life.”³⁵ Ukrainian immigrants were frequently portrayed in the English-language press as just such an “adolescent” race: violent and anti-democratic, they had not learned the virtues of thrift, sobriety, and prudence. Like other races from Africa, Asia, or North America, they were, in the eyes of many Anglo-Saxon intellectuals, being offered “the highest culture, religion and political institutions known to man.”³⁶ The fact that the newcomers wished to develop their own culture was viewed by many as a sign of their unpreparedness for the transition and as a danger to Canadian unity. The underlying imperialist discourse, therefore, constructed them in

American soil” (Originally serialized in *Dilo*, 1936; republished as Oleksa Prystai, “V amerykanskому Vavyloni,” *Chetver* [Ivano-Frankivsk], no. 4 (1993): 32).

34. Between 1901 and 1911 Canada’s population increased by some 43 percent, and at the end of this period people of non-British and non-French origins formed over 33 percent of the population of the three Prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. See Howard H. Palmer, “Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century,” in John R. Mallea and Jonathan C. Young, eds., *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education: Issues and Innovations* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990), 21–40.

35. *The Christian Guardian*, 13 February 1907.

36. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 158.

terms all too familiar to Ukrainians: as a people without a real language (Ukrainian was merely a grouping of dialects according to Alberta's Ministry of Education), an unenlightened mass that refused to accept the benefits of assimilation to a superior civilization.

The Ukrainian-Canadian community's desire to make its own cultural life was strong. There was a boom in the staging of plays and operettas and the publishing of poetry, drama, and short stories. The first bilingual textbook for schools was produced in 1913. Karmansky himself had been brought in as a professional writer and critic in order to strengthen resistance to cultural assimilation. Ukrainian-Canadian intellectuals were as incensed by the idea that they lacked a culture as by the demand that they close down their schools. Some argued that the Canadian West was uncivilized. At a public meeting held on 2 February 1913 in the Leland Theatre on Selkirk Avenue in Winnipeg, Orest Zherebko described main-street Canada as obsessed with money-making, ladies fashions, and sports news.³⁷ Ukrainians saw themselves as bringing a rich strand of European culture to a narrow-minded, materialistic country. They were the carriers of an ancient, not a defective, tradition and of an enormous still-unrealized potential.

In "Malpiache zerkalo" Karmansky devoted some of his most entertaining passages to assimilationist demands. "Hykun's Descent into the Other World,"³⁸ for example, describes the editor of the pro-Liberal *Kanadiiskiy farmer*, who, like a contemporary Odysseus, had roped himself to the Liberal mast in order to resist the Siren calls of his own conscience while covering the eyes and ears of those around him. This Liberal lackey with a dog's tail searches for a place in the afterlife, where the souls of the dead have been assigned to various camps, including the English, Prussian, Russian, and Ukrainian ones. He attempts to enter the encampment of the "Liberal Organization of Canada" but is repulsed because he speaks a "barbaric language." When he then attempts to enter the "Ukrainian Republic," its gatekeeper, the monk Nestor, notes sadly that his name no longer appears in the national roll. In answer to his request for advise, Nestor directs him to the "Empire of Turncoats," where various "independents," non-party types, and Archbishop Makarii are to be found.

In his "letters" Karmansky complains that the English-Canadian press focusses heavily on examples of criminal or disorderly behaviour among Ukrainians, associating them with such figures as the outlaw Jack "Kid" Krawchenko, whose case was avidly reported at the time. With offended

37. "Shkola a mova," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 February 1913.

38. *Kanada*, 10 February 1914.

national pride he rejects the stereotypes of fiction and newspaper reports. In his opinion, the Ukrainian-Canadian leadership has failed to take a sufficiently determined stance toward this defamation; it is guilty of a Conradian failure of character.³⁹

Ultimately the diasporic communities are viewed as auxiliaries in Ukraine's struggle for independence. The author moves from a contemplation of the chaotic state of Ukrainian affairs to an indictment of individual apostates and finally to a reaffirmation of the great causes of national enlightenment and emancipation. The last issue of "Malpiache zerkalo," titled "Mutual Understanding and Unity," expresses regret for the tone of its comments and extends an offer of solidarity: "My goal has been merely to teach you some shame, nothing more. I have achieved my goal; you are also pleased, because I have apologized; therefore we can sing together after the manner of our fathers: 'Shake hands and love one another like brothers.'"⁴⁰ The national cause acts as conciliator and leveller. The abstract nation, the peasantry and broad masses, remain above criticism; Karmansky's attacks are reserved for the leadership.⁴¹

The focus on Ukraine had its dangers: it caused Karmansky to misread the Canadian situation, to underestimate the immigrants' commitment to Canada,⁴² and to defend assumptions concerning culture that the newcomers

39. Later, in assessing the defeat of the Ukrainian National Republic (1917–20), Karmansky would write: "from the beginning of our liberation struggle we never had great leaders who could be the brains of the people. And all those sixteenth- and seventeenth-century heroes smelling of panegyrical incense have now diminished in my eyes to the stature of ordinary little people thrown up on the shoulders of the powerful mass protest; in the same way as [Symon] Petliura, whom I once compared to Garibaldi, has diminished in my eyes. The worms destroying our organism, it is evident, are not contemporary; they have been with us for centuries. The warlordism [*otamanshchyna*] that reflects this history exactly was a feast for the worms" ("Shliakhom vyzvolnoi borotby," file 18).

40. *Kanada*, 14 April 1914.

41. He later distilled the following message from his experience of the wartime and postwar years: "the masses played their historical part faultlessly; their heralds, on the contrary, demonstrated how the best idea and struggle can be reduced to absurdity and catastrophe" (Karmansky, "Shliakhom").

42. Bishop Budka's episcopal letter of 27 July 1914, which called upon Ukrainians to return home and serve in the Austrian army following the declaration of war against Russia, is a famous instance. Appearing shortly before Britain and Canada entered the war as Russia's allies, it confirmed English Canada's worst fears concerning the loyalty of Ukrainians and intensified calls for the "Canadianization" of immigrants. A Ukrainianocentric perspective, a tendency to see English Canada in the light of Polish and Russian rule in Galicia and Ukraine, also comes through in Bishop Budka's 1918 comment that

did not share. Karmansky believed that high culture was the element that would define, sustain, and direct the nation-building effort by providing what has been described as "cognitive centralization and codification."⁴³ Influenced by the Polish and Italian Risorgimenti, the Ukrainian writer felt that his politically fragmented nation required a coherent, normative culture, a tradition of high art that would transcend geographical dislocations and historical and social disruptions. The attack on the intelligentsia stemmed from a long-cherished desire to put an end to the divided and "incomplete" national psyche. The protracted political subordination of Ukraine had, the Ukrainian modernists felt, compelled their countrymen to mimic foreign cultures, and this destabilized their sense of identity. Many works from this period, such as Ivan Franko's *Moisei* and Lesia Ukrainka's *Kassandra*, can be read as arguing that a decisive break with this mentality was a "categorical imperative."⁴⁴ Karmansky's rejection of lowbrow cultural forms at a time and place that could provide little high culture proved divisive.

For two decades Ukrainian-Canadian politics had followed its own trajectory, and the earlier immigrants— younger, with less formal education, but with years of life in the new country behind them—viewed the cultural process in different terms. They frequently saw the need for radical cultural experimentation and de-emphasized the gulf between high and popular culture. While Karmansky understood culture primarily as a unifying literary tradition, they saw it in terms of patterns of thought and behaviour that required adaptation to new circumstances and expression in new forms. His stress on culture as personal refinement through study contrasted with their emphasis on culture as belief, ritual, and a community bond—an entire way of life.

In the debate of 1913–14 Karmansky represented a Ukrainian nationalism that was attempting to win hegemony over its own people. His position came up against the complexities within the Ukrainian community and faced the resistance of English Canada. The result was a contest between

75 percent of Ukrainians would return to Ukraine after the war owing to the suspension of their civil rights and loss of bilingual schools.

43. Ernest Gellner has defined this as "high culture or great tradition, a style of conduct and communication endorsed by the speaker as superior, as setting a norm which should be, but alas often is not, satisfied in real life, and the rules of which are usually codified by a set of respected, norm-giving specialists within society" (*Nations and Nationalism* [Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983], 92).

44. Oksana Zabuzhko makes this argument for the mentioned works of Franko and Lesia Ukrainka. See her *Filosofiya ukraïnskoi idei ta ievropeiskyi kontekst: Frankivskyi period* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1992), 94.

competing visions of community identity that revealed complex issues of self-definition in a multicultural, diasporic environment, issues that were to be faced repeatedly in future decades by Ukrainians not only in the diasporic communities, but also in Ukraine. This little-known Canadian episode in Karmansky's life, not his wartime and revolutionary writings, is the earliest demonstration of his political engagement. It changes significantly our picture of his biography and of the evolution of Ukrainian modernism.

Italy in the Works of Petro Karmansky

Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj

In previous works on Ukrainian modernism I argued that the movement should not be recognized primarily as a narrow aesthetic one, but as a complex social phenomenon, the product of sweeping change in Ukraine's cultural and national self-awareness during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Modernism, in my view, was a radical transformation of the very structure of Ukrainian society and, especially, of its cultural institutions. The movement formalized Ukrainian art and literature as a separate system of culture and legitimized the intelligentsia's pursuit of a "national" art as something independent from the rest of the (peasant) nation. During this period Ukraine's cultural elite embraced European artistic trends and ideas—everything from decadence and Symbolism to Nietzsche and feminism—as an expression of its national high culture and as a sign of its cultural autonomy from the people. It is this dynamic interplay of artistic issues with broader social and even political concerns (e.g., the place of culture in nation building; the role of art and the intelligentsia in society) that gives Ukrainian modernism its special profile.¹

If we see modernism as a new socio-cultural paradigm, then a better understanding of the social class that spearheaded the changes becomes imperative. It is for this reason that Petro Karmansky—one of the leading lights of the West Ukrainian modernist movement called Moloda Muza (The Young Muse)—is of particular interest. As a poet, translator, publicist, diplomat, and political activist, Karmansky is a fascinating example of the

1. See the discussion "The Modernist Ideology and Mykola Khvil'ovy," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 15, nos. 3–4 (December 1991): 257–62 and 284–7; and my articles "Ukrainian Symbolism and the Problem of Modernism," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 34, nos. 1–2 (March–June 1992): 113–30; and "Ukrainska khata and the Paradoxes of Ukrainian Modernism," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19, no. 2 (1994): 5–30.

modernist intellectual in the twentieth century, especially of his ideological and creative vicissitudes. Recent publications attest that he is enjoying a critical comeback in Ukrainian letters.² To be sure, Karmansky was not the most forgotten or neglected of the modernists. His work appeared in Ukraine in 1941 and again in 1952. This does not mean, however, that his fate was easy or enviable. He was little loved in Ukraine and the West. The most difficult years for him were the late 1940s, when he was expelled from the Writer's Union of Ukraine, and the 1950s.³

The current interest in Karmansky was foreshadowed in the late 1980s by the articles of Mykola Ilnytsky (in *Zhovten*, 1987, no. 5) and Ivan Lozynsky (in *Ukraina*, 1988, no. 23). In 1989 Leo Rudnytzky brought Karmansky to the attention of the diaspora with a sympathetic rereading of his life and works⁴ and the publication of selections from his forgotten novel of 1921. Since Ukrainian independence, Karmansky has figured prominently in two modernist anthologies.⁵ The growing interest in the poet can be explained by the increasing attention being devoted to Ukrainian modernism and by a natural curiosity about a writer of his diverse talents and achievements. Moreover, Karmansky's long life—he died in 1956 at the age of seventy-eight—was intricately intertwined with some of the most dramatic cultural, social, and political events of Ukrainian history. He was intensely involved in the cultural and political life of Western Ukraine, including the liberation struggle against Austrian and Polish rule (1918) and for the unification of Ukrainian territories (1919). He spent considerable time outside Ukraine in Europe, Canada (1913–14), and Brazil (1922–31).

As the contours of Karmansky's as yet incomplete biography begin to take shape thanks to scholars such as Petro Liashkevych and Stepan Iarema,

2. See Myroslav Shkandrii [Shkandrij], “Vidkryvannia Karmanskoho,” *Krytyka*, 1999, no. 4: 24–5; Petro Liashkevych, *Petro Karmansky: Narys zhyttia i tvorchosti*, Literurni portrety, vol. 1 (Lviv: Lviv Branch of the Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 1998); Petro Karmansky, *Dorohamy smutku i zmahan: Vybrani poezii* (Lviv: Kameniar, 1995); and Petro Karmansky, *Ukrainska bohema* (Lviv: Oli, 1996), a reprint of Karmansky's *Ukrainska bohema: Z nahody trydtsiatlittia “Molodoi muzy”* (Lviv, 1936).

3. For details see Stepan Iarema, “Pisliamova uporiadnyka,” in Petro Karmansky, *Dorohamy smutku i zmahan*, 320–31.

4. Leonid Rudnytsky, “Petro Karmansky — poet, polityk, patriot,” *Suchasnist*, 1989, no. 3: 9–16.

5. *Rozsypani perly: Poetry “Molodoi muzy,”* comp. M. M. Ilnytsky (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1991); and “Moloda muza”: *Antolohiia zakhidno-ukrainskoi poezii pochatku XX stolittia* (Kyiv, 1989).

it becomes obvious that foreign influence and experience played a key role in his development and work. Critics take note of his knowledge of Latin, German, Polish, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, and English. The place of European art and literature in Karmansky's writings and translations is frequently underscored. His penchant for non-native or unfamiliar surroundings and sources is evident in his travels, in the epigraphs gracing his collections (always cited in the original language), and in his references to foreign themes. This paper will explore just one aspect of Karmansky's interest in other countries and cultures by concentrating on an especially influential country in his life and works—Italy.

Karmansky spent several years in Italy: first in the years 1900–4 as a student at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Rome, and then from 1919 to 1921 as a diplomat of the Ukrainian National Republic to the Vatican.⁶

Karmansky translated quite a number of works from Italian, although our present knowledge of these efforts remains incomplete and little studied. Among the mentioned authors are Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), short-story writer and journalist Edmondo De Amicis (1846–1908),⁷ and Giovanni Papini (1881–1956). Papini, a prolific essayist on philosophical, literary, and religious subjects and a founder or co-founder of several influential literary reviews, such as *Leonardo* and *Lacerba*, was for a time a member of the Futurist movement. He embodied some of the same contradictions found in Ukrainian intellectuals, including Karmansky; for example, Papini was initially a cosmopolitan and then a staunch nationalist. As we shall see, for Karmansky one of the attractive features of Italian literature and culture was its patriotic orientation. This probably accounts for his translation of Giuseppe Mazzini's (1805–72) *Dei doveri dell'uomo* (The Duties of Man, 1860).⁸ Given Ukraine's own struggle for independence and unity—and Karmansky's efforts on behalf of this cause—his attraction for the Italian patriot, founder of Young Italy, revolutionary, and idealist is clearly not accidental.

Besides translating literary and political works, Karmansky also wrote critical articles on Italian writers, including one in 1906 about a relatively minor figure, Domenico Ciampoli (1855–1929), and another in 1908 on the

6. Liashkevych, *Petro Karmansky*, 44–5.

7. According to Liashkevych, the translations of De Amicis were published in the newspaper *Dilo* in 1911.

8. Liashkevych (*Petro Karmansky*, 5) states that one other Karmansky translation of Mazzini appeared in Lviv in 1907 under the title “Pro prychyny upadku italiiskykh revoliutsii.”

famous Nobel Prize winner Giosuè Carducci (1835–1907).⁹ The latter essay, titled “Poet tretoi Italii” (The Poet of the Third Italy), was twenty-four pages long, and half of it dwelled on Italy’s struggle for unification and nationhood.¹⁰ Like Karmansky’s other works on Italian themes, this article is infused with sympathy for Italy’s plight and admiration for the men who devoted their life to the nation. The author expresses awe at Italy’s “titanic efforts and well-nigh insane achievements”¹¹ on the road to statehood. The article is a virtual catalogue of intellectuals and writers associated with the cause of Italian state building. Carducci is depicted as an ardent revolutionary who dreamed of liberation from a foreign yoke.¹² Even so, Karmansky’s emphasis is on Carducci as a poet. His Carducci is a lofty intellectual, a poet-statesman who, in the face of censure from small minds, fearlessly raises his cultured voice in defence of Italy and Italian culture.

Karmansky’s essay on Carducci has some very obvious common threads with a later work; namely, his translation of Ugo Foscolo’s *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* (The Last Letters of Jacopo Ortis, 1802), which was published in 1921 as *Ostanni lysty Iakova Ortisa* by Vsesvitnia biblioteka (the place of publication was given as Kyiv, Lviv, and Vienna). Foscolo (1778–1827) was a writer of Greek-Italian origin for whom patriotism and literature were intimately intertwined. One scholar characterized him thus: “During his lifetime Ugo Foscolo became famous as poet, novelist, patriot, and great lover.”¹³ Foscolo spent an important period of his life fighting for Italy in Napoleon’s armies. Although he is remembered primarily as one of Italy’s great early poets, Foscolo is also credited with writing the first truly Italian novel, namely, *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, a popular epistolary work in the tradition of Richardson’s *Pamela*. Its English translator provides the following useful summary:

This novel is the story of man’s need for illusions in order to stay alive. The central character at first relies on the ideals of country, liberty, and love. Reality

9. “Domeniko Champoli,” *Svit*, no. 6, 1906. I was not able to examine this article. Ciampoli was a writer, critic, and translator noted especially for his popularization in Italy of Slavic writers such as Chekhov, Dostoevsky, Gogol, Gorky, Lermontov, and Sienkiewicz. See Giorgio Luti and Enrico Ghidetti, *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana del Novecento*, 1st ed. (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1997).

10. “Poet tretoi Italii,” *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, July–September 1908, 57–81.

11. *Ibid.*, 59.

12. *Ibid.*, 66.

13. Douglas Radcliff-Umstead, “Introduction,” *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis: A Translation by Douglas Radcliff-Umstead* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 9.

comes to destroy all these. The Treaty of Campoformio [1797] deprives the hero of his homeland. His despair is relieved by love for the girl Teresa. But she is engaged to another man to accommodate her father, whose difficult financial situation does not permit his giving her a dowry. Foscolo himself had fallen in love with a Florentine girl, who for financial reasons was forced to marry a man against her will. Jacopo Ortis is unable to compromise with reality and finally destroys himself.¹⁴

It should be noted that although Karmansky's translation was published as a book in 1921, he claimed that a large portion of it appeared earlier, in 1906, in the Lviv journal *Svit*,¹⁵ that the manuscript of the second part was lost during the Russian occupation of Galicia in 1914, and that he had to translate it again.¹⁶ The history of the work's publication is interesting, for it clearly connects Foscolo's novel with the nascent years of Ukrainian modernism. The book version, however, reveals important ideological shifts of emphasis in Karmansky's early modernist thinking. He admits rather forthrightly that over the years his motives for translating and publishing the Italian novel had changed. Initially, in typical modernist fashion, he was drawn to the work because of its pessimism and "erotic elements." The patriotic strain was not irrelevant, but it was only the third reason. By 1921 his purpose for acquainting Ukrainians with the novel was almost entirely social and political.

Karmansky's introduction to the translation is an interesting self-portrait and a revealing commentary on the intelligentsia's response to Ukraine's national catastrophe of 1917–19. It begins with a reference to Napoleon's treachery at Campoformio, the treaty that ceded Venice to Austria. Karmansky stresses the tragic effect this event had on "the sons of Italy," especially the revolutionary patriot Foscolo. "Two lofty feelings struggle in the novel," Karmansky writes, "love for a woman and love for the fatherland; both are noble, pure, and equal in strength."¹⁷ He admires Foscolo as a "fighter for the liberation of his fatherland," but he also praises Foscolo's work for its emotional sincerity and "Schopenhauerian worldview."¹⁸ Then he elaborates:

Now when I reread the work, after the tragedies we experienced over the last year ... I see in it an echo of all those emotions that torment the soul of

14. Ibid., 10–11.

15. I have not been able to verify this statement.

16. Karmansky provides this information in *Ostanni lysty Iakova Ortisa*, 7.

17. Ibid., 5.

18. Ibid., 6.

contemporary educated Europeans and, most of all, the soul of Ukrainians. Today the pessimism of [Foscolo's] *Lysty* finds confirmation in my own worldview.... The historical crimes of international diplomacy, which at one time enslaved Italy, have undermined the Ukrainian soul's faith in the idea of truth, placing before its eyes the horror of a harsh, immoral force of individuals who dictate to the world the laws of their own egoism. Today the loathing Foscolo felt for the hypocrisy of the so-called civilized world is sister to the identical loathing experienced by a Ukrainian. Our soul has suffered the same bankruptcy of faith in the principles of goodness and truth that was suffered by the soul of the Italian patriot after the Treaty of Campoformio. The tragedy of the Italian nation following this treaty is our tragedy. Every good Ukrainian can now repeat almost verbatim the words beginning the first letter: "Our country's sacrifice is done.... Everything is lost. The only kind of life that is still to be granted to us will be only to mourn our nation's disgrace."¹⁹

Karmansky sees the Italian novel as a clarion call for Ukrainians to end their internecine strife, which, he says, can only benefit the imperial powers. He cites several more passages from the novel and asks: "Is this not the confession of our communal soul? Are we not blushing with the same shame that turned the Italian patriot red?"²⁰ Urging the reader to ignore the book's erotic aspects and pessimistic conclusion, Karmansky proposes it as a source of hope. "Our war for independence has only just begun, and it betrays all the social errors that were described by the Italian poet's pen. And until such a time when we will have our own Foscolo, [a poet] who might teach us how [to show] boundless love for our country and nation ... until we have a poet who might teach us to feel shame for our bondage ... let this little book by [this] Italian poet stir our conscience and instill in us faith in our ultimate victory."²¹ His introduction ends with a quotation from Mazzini: "Without a Fatherland you have no name, no face, no freedom, no right to brotherhood among the nations. You are the bastards of Humanity.... Before you can unite with other Nations who form Humanity, you must exist as a Nation. There can be no union except among Equals. But no one recognizes your collective existence."²²

The year his translation of Foscolo came out, Karmansky completed a two-part novel. The first part, titled *Kiltsia rozhi* (Rings of the Rose), is set in Rome. Only three chapters are currently available.²³ Interestingly, the

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., 9.

21. Ibid., 10.

22. Ibid., 10–11.

23. Petro Karmansky, "Kiltsia rozhi," *Suchasnist*, 1989, nos. 3: 17–25 and 4: 2–27. According to Rudnytzky, who apparently read both parts in manuscript, the title of the

novel opens with an epigraph from Foscolo's *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*. The very first paragraphs give the reader a sense of the Italian capital: the ruins of the Roman Forum, the Palatine, the Baths of Caracalla, and the Coliseum. The mute silence of these ancient monuments is contrasted to the noise of the modern city in August. The novel's main protagonist is Sviatoslav Petrovych, a man in his thirties. We are introduced to him as he sits in the Coliseum immersed in thought, imagining the stadium as it might have been during Nero's time. His musings are interrupted by the tolling bells of countless churches, many of which are enumerated by name. Almost immediately the hero recalls his native village in Ukraine. A chance encounter with a stranger initiates a dialogue in Italian that quickly changes into Ukrainian when the two realize they are both from Galicia.

Kiltsia rozhi is obviously full of personal and autobiographical elements: Petrovych is no doubt Karmansky's alter ego. From the first three chapters and Leo Rudnytzky's summary of the novel, it seems reasonable to conclude that *Kiltsia rozhi* is meant to show the transformation of a cynical and pessimistic intellectual-poet into a social activist. Rostkovych, the stranger Petrovych meets in the Coliseum, is a painter. Although both represent the intelligentsia, Rostkovych figures as Petrovych's antipode: he is energetic, optimistic, and more interested in the present and the future.

As a novel Karmansky's work is weak, but it is an interesting document of the time: it describes Rome's appearance and the attitudes of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. It is saturated with details about the city, including the names of streets, buildings, villas, restaurants, museums, and historical monuments. His characters drink Marsala and are enamoured of Italian literature. Petrovych is completely immersed in Giacomo Leopardi's (1798–1837) poetry.²⁴ This catalogue of Roman and Italian culture is not just a tribute to the conventions of the realistic novel. It also highlights by contrast Ukraine's national poverty, immaturity, and backwardness. For Petrovych Rome's wealth is a function of its age: "Рим – багатство у старості."²⁵ Karmansky's characters are artists and intellectuals with "spiritual needs" that are not satisfied in the Ukrainian cultural milieu; hence they flee to Europe. Petrovych is a cynical and harsh critic of Ukrainian pseudo-culture and its pseudo-liberation movement.²⁶ He hates Lviv.²⁷ His

second part is *I v ohni ii okradzhenuiu zbudiat*.

24. He reads Leopardi's discourses and "The Song of the Travelling Shepherd" ("Kiltsia rozhi," no. 3: 21, 24).

25. "Kiltsia rozhi," no. 4: 27.

26. Ibid., no. 3: 21–2.

thirst for and love of culture makes him an enemy of the Futurists. To his new Ukrainian friend, Rostkovych, he says:

You have probably heard of Marinetti, who has proclaimed the cult of the machine and baptized himself a Futurist? He would like to level not only the ruins but all the museums and all the finest buildings. It's strange that our own nation, which has not the slightest trace of traditions that might stir it to a new life, gives birth to adherents of Futurism. Only a nation that does not need traditions because it is fully aware of its worth and dignity and has no need to be reminded of them can afford Futurism. We [Ukrainians] are a curious nation, for sure. Nowhere is rubbish from foreign dumps collected so avidly as among us.²⁸

Petrovych, described as a “Galician Ukrainian intellectual,”²⁹ thrives not only on Italian culture but also on English Romantic poetry, not to mention Heine and Schopenhauer. His own verse is not appreciated by his countrymen because it lacks, as he says, a “Ukrainian element.”³⁰ He confesses to a compulsive need to “go abroad every year.”³¹ This escape, the author tells us, “enriches his spirit, refreshes him, and prevents him from despising his own society to the end. Abroad he writes his best poetry, whereas life among his own people saps his creative powers and condemns him to barren boredom.”³² Thus, despite his disdain for the followers of Marinetti, Petrovych’s own attitude is rife with the very convictions that motivated radical modernists and especially the Futurists.³³

Petrovych is married to a tolerant and understanding Polish woman he met, significantly, on the Italian Adriatic coast. As the novel opens, they are enjoying “a longer stay in Rome, the European city that appealed most to [Petrovych].”³⁴ Petrovych “spent entire days sitting in old private villas or among the ruins of ancient Rome and writing poems filled with meditative graves and graveyard cypresses and a yearning for other-worldly peace.”³⁵

In one episode Petrovych and his friend Rostkovych run into a group of Ukrainian seminarians, who, it turns out, are confused about their nationality.

27. Ibid., no. 3: 23.

28. Ibid., no. 3: 23–4.

29. Ibid., no. 4: 20.

30. Ibid., no. 4: 22.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., no. 4: 22–3.

33. See my *Ukrainian Futurism, 1914–1930: A Historical and Critical Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, 1997).

34. “Kiltsia rozhi,” no. 4: 24.

35. Ibid., no. 4: 25.

An argument ensues as to whether they are Ruthenians or Russians, Galicians or Austrians. Rostkovych reacts with scorn to their confusion: “Соромно признатися до такої нації.”³⁶ Petrovych’s wife and Rostkovych encourage him to write in a language other than Ukrainian and for a culture that can understand and appreciate him. Roskovych argues: “Ви знаєте чужі мови! Чому ж вам не бути поетом культурної нації?” (You know foreign languages! Why shouldn’t you become a poet of a cultured nation?)³⁷ But Petrovych rejects the idea and, in one of his rare displays of optimism, declares: “Прийде час, коли і в нас знайдеться розуміння для проявів духа і краси. Воно прийде. (The time will come when our people too will appreciate the manifestations of the spirit and beauty. It will come.)”³⁸

Italy and Italian culture were a major intertextual presence even in Karmansky’s earliest collections of poetry. For example, his 1907 collection *Bludni ohni* opens with a cycle titled “Pid dubom T. Tassa” (Under Tasso’s Oak). The first poem of the cycle has an epigraph in Italian from Petrarch and a footnote that reads: “On Monte Gianicolo there grows an old oak tree under which Tasso used to sit admiring the panorama of Rome. To the right stands the grandiose monument to Giuseppe Garibaldi, while below is the monastery where Torquato lived and the Church of St. Onofrio where he is buried, and far off in the distance is the outline of the dome of St. Peter’s.”³⁹ The poem “Nad morem” (By the Sea), subtitled “U Fiumichino” (In Fiumicino), mentions the Tiber, Ostia, and Rome.

Karmansky’s 1909 poetry collection *Plyvem po mori tmy* (Floating in the Sea of Darkness) is said to have been influenced by Leopardi, Italy’s finest nineteenth-century poet, with whom Karmansky shared a predilection for pessimism, nostalgia, and lost hopes. The collection contains epigraphs from many Italian writers, including Lorenzo Stecchetti (1845–1916), Giosuè Carducci, and Mario Rapisardi (1844–1912), but not a single one from Leopardi. Karmansky even evokes the songs of the gondoliers. As in other collections, he has a tendency to embellish his poems with Italian titles, such as “Monte Maggiore” and “Vanti.”

In 1920 and 1921 Karmansky wrote a number of poems on Italian or Roman themes, some of them around Frascati and Lake Albano, a short distance from the southern outskirts of Rome. The 1995 edition of his

36. “It is embarrassing to admit one belongs to such a nation” (*ibid.*, no. 4: 26).

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Bludni ohni* (Lviv: Nakladom Mykhaila Petrytskoho, 1907).

selected works includes a number of these verses under the heading “Zrymskykh sonetiv” (From Roman Sonnets).⁴⁰ The inventory there is incomplete: missing are two poems with the identical title “Rymska elehiia” (Roman Elegy)⁴¹ and another poem titled “Na Kapitoliu” (To the Capitol).⁴² All the poems are melancholy meditations on ancient Roman history, with references to Rome’s hills, the dormant volcano of Monte Cavo, the Tiber, Campania, the Roman Forum, the ruins of Tusculum, Latium, mausoleums, cemeteries, and villas.

Karmansky’s poetry of this period has much in common with the dark mood and temperament that is the trademark of his main hero in *Kiltsia rozhi*. These are verses about ruin, death, and sadness, lamenting the fragility of glory. Karmansky’s placid and quiet landscapes, framed by eternity, are reminders of mortality. Generally the panoramas are bereft of human figures. But there are noteworthy exceptions to this rule. “Na ruinakh Tuskulium” (On the Ruins of Tusculum)⁴³ is a typical elegiac portrayal of luxurious antique ruins that symbolize hopelessness. But the sonnet also invokes the warm memory a Roman philosopher who dreamed of paradise. This sudden foregrounding of a hapless intellectual and idealist is the only positive element in the otherwise bleak scene.

The ancient ruins are a stage on which Karmansky’s lyrical ego gives full rein to his emotions. In the poem “Na Kapitoliu” a ravaged Rome summons centuries of pain. Suddenly a personal and subjective tone enters toward the end of the poem when the lyrical persona reads his private anguish into the desolate vista:

І я згадав про власні лихоліття,
Про всі надії, приспані в кургані,
І похилився, мов билина в лугу.⁴⁴

Both Roman Elegies have a particularly subjective, perhaps even autobiographical character. The one beginning with “Ha Pincio мерли тони

40. *Dorohamy smutku i bazhan*, 109–16.

41. “Rymska elehiia,” *Do sotsia*, 48–51; and “Rymska elehiia,” in *Vybir z ukraïnskoho narodnoho pysmenstva: Druhyi tom (vid 1876 do 1920 r.) dlia vosmoi kliasy serednykh shkil; dlia chetvertoi kliasy koliegii*, comp. Antin Krushelnitsky (Kyiv, Vienna, and Lviv: Chaika, 1922), 689–90.

42. *Vybir z ukraïnskoho narodnoho pysmenstva*, 686.

43. *Ibid.*, 686–7.

44. And I recalled my own hard times / All the hopes asleep in the kurgan, / And I stooped like a stem in a meadow (*ibid.*, 686).

‘Травіати’’ (On Pincian Hill the Tones of the *Traviata* Faded) is about the temporary healing power of love and the pain of separation. Rome, inscribed here as a palpable and immediate presence, becomes the focal point for measuring the distance from life to death. The second elegy, beginning with “Здається, не давно” (It Seems Not Long Ago) exploits Rome as a metaphor for emotional ruin and death. It establishes a parallelism between the hero’s lost passion for life and Rome’s past glory: both suffer from the ravages of time. The opening evokes episodes from Karmansky’s life at the seminary:

Здається, не давно.... У келії холодній,
 Закований в кліщі чернечої аскези,
 Я тут марнів і скнів. Мій дух, мов пес голодний,
 Кусав залізний ланц і рвався до трапези
 Життя і радощів; і я огнем чола
 І лявою очей юнацьке жарив ложе.⁴⁵

The elegy mourns the disappearance of this youthful passion.

Здається, не давно.... Лишень пятнадцять літ.
 О мрії днів весни! Які ви ще квітучі,
 А як заносить з вас мертвеччина і тлінь!
 Здається, понад вас пронісся демон тучі
 І вцілував у вас свою мервечу тінь
 І виписав на вас слова: дарма — пропало.

Так, так: пропало все: усе в могилу впало!
 Сьогодні вольним я снуюся по руїнах,
 Впиваюсь ухом в шум розтужених фонтан,
 Блукаю в тіні пальм і плачу на колінах
 В базиліках святих, окутаних в туман, —
 І чую, що усе для мене вже мертвє.
 [...]

Здається, не давно. Яка одначе зміна!
 Як пилом лихоліть припав мій гордий дух!
 Стою в кружі руїн — і сам так-ж руїна —

45. It seems not long ago.... In a cold cell, / Gripped in the claws of monastic ascesis, / I wasted away. My spirit, like a hungry hound, / Gnawed at the iron chain to escape to the meal / Of life and joys; and with my forehead’s fire / And my eyes’ lava I burned my youth’s bed.

І жаль мені моїх весняних мрій і тут
 І жаль мені, що я не в келії холодній,
 Що дух мій не кричить, не рве ланців — голодний.⁴⁶

In the end, having seen his youthful energy turn to dust and his dreams into numbness, the hero survives, like the great city he loves, primarily through the power of memory.

When we reflect on Ukrainian modernism, it becomes clear that the ancient civilization of Rome was a relatively minor theme in the movement. Mykola Vorony occasionally resorted to classical images, using them as symbols of high art. The Neoclassicists, of course, embraced the Greco-Roman world, but they deliberately distanced themselves from the earlier aestheticist, lyrical, and pessimistic strains of modernism. Their portrayal of the Eternal City's civilization had little in common with Karmansky's. Therefore he is an interesting and to a large degree unique phenomenon because among the modernists he alone endowed the ancient world with the features of decadence. Only Karmansky experienced the tragic onslaught of time on the beauty and grandeur of the past. His work, in short, is laced with the decadent spirit and comes especially close to such decadent characteristics as dilettantism ("a refusal, and an incapacity, to take up any definitive moral or intellectual stance") and cosmopolitanism ("esthetic experiences [that are] far-ranging and disparate").⁴⁷ But if one takes his work in its entirety (especially from the early 1900s to the 1920s), it becomes clear that, unlike many European decadents, Karmansky does not end his reflections on the past with inescapable skepticism and a sense of futility. By and large, Europe's culture calls forth in him an acute, almost morbid awareness of his nation's cultural limitations and underscores Ukraine's inability to participate in the dialogue of European cultures. Paradoxically, this does not lead to

46. It seems not long ago.... Only fifteen years. / Oh, dreams of spring days! How blooming you still are, / And how you reek of death and corruption! / It seems the demon of storm has passed over you / And with a kiss impressed on you his deathly shadow / And wrote the words "in vain, all's lost" on you. // Yes, yes: all's lost: collapsed into the grave! / Today I'm free and wander through the ruins, / My ear laps up the murmur of grieving fountains, / I walk in the palms' shadows and kneeling weep / In holy basilicas, enshrouded in mist, / And feel that for me all's already dead. / [...] / It seems not long ago. And yet what changes! / How the dust of hard times covers my proud spirit! / I stand amongst ruins and I'm a ruin myself— / And grieve over my spring dreams and longings / And I regret I'm not in a cold cell, / That my spirit cries not and pulls not at the chains in hunger (ibid., 689–90).

47. Jean Pierrot, *The Decadent Imagination, 1880–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 52.

dilettantism but to a compensatory artistic and cultural activism, which for the modernists became the highest expression of their social conscience. The experience of Europe and its cosmopolitanism makes the Ukrainian modernist extremely sensitive to his own differences and roots. In Karmansky's case it evokes a powerful nostalgia for his native land, accompanied by the desire to remodel it in Europe's image. Instead of abandoning his nationality, the modernist seeks to integrate his personal cosmopolitan experience into the fabric of his national community.

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Two Musical Conceptions of the Revolution: Aleksandr Blok's *Dvenadtsat* and Pavlo Tychyna's *Zamist sonetiv i oktav*

Michael M. Naydan

Blok's *Dvenadtsat* (The Twelve) and Tychyna's *Zamist sonetiv i oktav* (Instead of Sonnets and Octaves) represent, respectively, the most significant poetic works to have been inspired by the 1917 Revolution in Russian and Ukrainian literature.¹ Yet despite their thematic origin in that cataclysmic historical event, they have never been extensively compared.² Aside from the common theme of revolution and the problems in clearly defining their genre,³ there are numerous other features that can be easily compared: the

1. A third significant but somewhat less-known poem of the Revolution is the Russian Futurist poet Velimir Khlebnikov's "Nochnoi obysk." The relationship of Khlebnikov's poem to Blok's is fairly obvious. Some of Khlebnikov's imagery in that poem suggests that Khlebnikov may have been aware of Tychyna's.

2. Iurii Lavrinenko mentions their relationship in *Zrub i parosti* (Munich: Suchasnist, 1971), 21. He writes: "The well-known Russian poet Aleksandr Blok in the poem *Dvenadtsat* doesn't hesitate to identify twelve Red Guards, drunk with blood, with apostles—Christ himself walks at their head. As though answering directly, Tychyna writes: 'Cruel aestheticism!—and when will you stop admiring the slashed throat? A beast devours a beast.'"

3. Neither work fits neatly into a single genre. Blok himself contributed to the confusion by alternately designating *Dvenadtsat* as a *poema*, a cycle, and a series of poems. One of Blok's contemporaries, Osip Mandelshtam, called it "a monumental dramatic *chastushka*," and another, Ivan Bunin, pejoratively defined it as "a set of little verses" (*nabor stishkov*). It appeared first in the periodical press in 1918, and then on 5 June 1918 it was published along with "Skify" as a book. Although *Zamist sonetiv i oktav* was printed first as a thirty-two-page book in 1920, it also defies clear-cut characterization

polyphonic structure,⁴ the technique of montage in their organization, the song as a structural device, and the elusive symbolist “spirit of music.” Certain other characteristics clearly distinguish one poem from the other: personae, narrative technique, rhythm, and tonality. A comparison of these various elements of composition will show closer affinities between these highly provocative and innovative works than first meets the eye.

But first a summary of the publication history of the two poems. Written between 7 and 28 January 1918, *Dvenadtsat* appeared first in the newspaper *Znamia truda* on 3 March. The *poema* (long poem) had its first public reading—the reader was Blok’s wife—on 13 May in Tenishevsky Hall. Shortly thereafter, on 5 June, it appeared in a separate edition along with the poem “Skify.” The *poema* provoked an immediate intense response and considerable controversy.⁵ It was republished in many Soviet editions of Blok’s collected and selected works despite its controversial ending, which places Christ—a figure unacceptable (prior to Gorbachev’s *perestroika*) in the literature of atheist Soviet society—at the head of the revolutionary band of twelve brigand soldiers. Soon after its initial publication the *poema* also appeared in a number of unauthorized editions published in Kharkiv, Kyiv, Tychyna’s native Chernihiv, and other cities.⁶ Thus we can be certain that Tychyna had access to *Dvenadtsat* very soon after its publication. In its time it caused a stir as a kind of poetic newsreel of the recent momentous event.

by genre. In Soviet criticism it has been defined most often as a “lyro-epic.” Oleksa Kudin, the author of the notes to the first volume of the twelve-volume Soviet collected works of Tychyna’s poetry, calls it a cycle (Pavlo Tychyna, *Zibrannia tvoriv u dvanadtsiaty tomakh*, ed. Oles Honchar [Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1983], 3: 602). Because of Tychyna’s fusion of lyric and tragic elements, Lavrinenko has called his work “tragic lyric poetry” (*Zrub i parosti*, 21). Some of the segments of the collection hardly amount to independent poems. The brevity of *Zamist sonetiv i oktav* raises further problems of classification: Tychyna’s work (189 lines) is approximately half the length of Blok’s *poema* (346 lines), which has never been treated as a book of poems. M. L. Rosenthal’s proposal to call works of this type in the twentieth century “poetic sequences” might be the best solution.

4. Edward Stankiewicz discusses polyphony in Blok’s *poema* in the article “The Polyphonic Structure of Blok’s *Dvenadtsat*,” in *Aleksandr Blok Centennial Conference*, ed. Walter N. Vickery and Bogdan B. Sagatov (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica, 1984), 345–56.

5. For a sampling of the critical response to the poem, see the notes in Aleksandr Blok, *Sobranie sochinenii v vosmi tomakh*, ed. Valdimir Orlov (Moscow and Leningrad: Khudozhsnaia literatura, 1960–63), 3: 625–31.]; and Munir Sendich, “Blok’s *Dvenadtsat*: A Bibliography of Criticism (1918–1970),” *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, Fall 1972, 462–71.

6. Noted in Blok, *Sobranie sochinenii* 3: 626.

Leonid Novychenko dates the composition of Tychyna's cycle of poems to the second half of 1918,⁷ while a more recent publication dates the poems as being written during the years 1918–19.⁸ It first appeared in print in 1920 in Kyiv as a thirty-two-page booklet. Until the 1980s it was republished in its entirety only once in Soviet Ukraine—in 1922 as part of Tychyna's collection *Zolotyi homin* (Golden Echo). Subsequently it appeared only in excerpted form (if at all) in Soviet editions of Tychyna's selected works, because Soviet authorities found disturbing ambiguities in it. Mention of the pope at the end of *Zamist sonetiv i oktav* was apparently a greater threat to the regime than Blok's Christ figure at the end of *Dvenadtsat*. The first volume of the Soviet twelve-volume edition of Tychyna's collected works, which appeared in 1983, contains the entire cycle except for the final antistrophe. Page 150 of that volume is blank, either because of the censor's late decision to remove the last segment of the cycle or because of the editors' wishful thinking. The final antistrophe was restored during the glasnost years in the addendum containing censored texts in the twelfth volume of Tychyna's collected works (1990). Because Tychyna's diaries and notebooks pertaining to this period are sketchy, we have little information about the poet's thoughts about and the circumstances surrounding the cycle's composition.⁹

There is, however, ample evidence of Tychyna's lifelong attachment to Blok and his writings. In 1920, the year Tychyna's cycle was published, he was working on a translation of Blok's play *Roza i krest* (The Rose and the Cross)¹⁰. The Ukrainian poet and literary critic Natalka Bilotserkivets has detailed Tychyna's relationship with Blok.¹¹ According to her, "Rylsky and Tychyna remained enchanted with Blok their entire life."¹² She notes that Tychyna underscored the phrases "musical sense" (*muzykalnyi smysl*) and

7. As noted by Semen Shakhovsky, *Pavlo Tychyna* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1968), 63.

8. Tychyna, *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 1: 602.

9. The notes to *Zibrannia tvoriv* indicate that Tychyna made diary-type entries in the manuscript, but the editor does not describe their content. His diary entries have been published in part in *Iz shchodennykoykh zapysiv*, comp. and ed. Stanislav Telniuk (Kyiv: Radianskyi pysmennyk, 1981). See also the article "Sertsem do sotsia," *Radianska Ukraina*, 11 March 1979; and *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 11 (1988), which contains the most complete of Tychyna's diary entries published to date.

10. The translation appears in *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 5 (1986): 140–212.

11. "Muzyka iunosti, muzyka revoliutsii: Oleksandr Blok u tvorchii biohrafii Maksyma Rylskoho ta Pavla Tychyny," *Vitchyzna*, 1980, no. 11: 151–65. I am grateful to Natalka Bilotserkivets and Mykola Riabchuk for providing me with a copy of the article.

12. *Ibid.*, 162.

“the only musical force” (*edinyi muzykalnyi napor*) in his personal copy of Blok’s works. In much of the remainder of her article Bilotserkivets points out thematic and other links that bind the two great poets, including the motifs of youth and music, the spirit of the age, the absence of natural landscapes, and numerous direct and indirect textual echoes of Blok in Tychyna’s poetry, particularly in the latter’s collection *Pluh* (The Plow, 1920). Tychyna included Blok’s name in his famous poem “I Biely, i Blok, i Iesenin, i Kliuiev,” which counterposes a messianic Russia against “storozterzanyi Kyiv” (Kyiv tortured a hundredfold) and “dvisti rozipiatyi ia” (I crucified two-hundredfold). The couplet that begins and ends Tychyna’s unpublished poem “Do koho hovoryt?” (To Whom to Speak? 1925), which was discovered in the archive of Tychyna’s friend and colleague Mykola Zerov, direly observes in the second line: “Blok u mohyli. Gorky movchyt”¹³ (Blok is in the grave. Gorky remains silent).

Diaries, notebooks, and letters published several years after Bilotserkivets’s article first appeared yield further evidence of Tychyna’s high esteem for Blok. In a diary entry dated 11 August 1920, Tychyna laconically recorded: “Blok died. Can you believe it? I read Renan’s *Life of Christ* a second time. I had to.”¹⁴ Tychyna summarized his high regard for Blok in preliminary notes for his book *Iak ia pysav* (How I Wrote): “Alexander Blok.... Oh, what a lofty pride of Russian poetry!”¹⁵ Thus there can be no question of Blok’s profound influence on Tychyna both as a fellow symbolist and as a great artist. In the era of socialist realism, Blok’s perceived status as a decadent representative of Russia’s bourgeois past is obviously why Tychyna avoided even mentioning Blok’s name in print after the late 1920s.

Textual evidence from *Zamist sonetiv i oktav* indicates at least a subconscious influence of Blok’s *Dvenadtsat* on Tychyna when he was composing his cycle. In the eleventh canto of *Dvenadtsat*, Blok describes the twelve revolutionary soldiers’ state of readiness: “Ко всему готовы, / *Ничего не жалъ*” (Ready for everything, / *They pity nothing*, 11: 3–4; my italics). In the twelfth and final titled section of Tychyna’s sequence we find the following lines: “Стріляють серце, стріляють душу — *нічого ім / не жалъ*” (They shoot the heart, they shoot the soul—*they pity / nothing*,

13. *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 12 (1990): 114.

14. *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 11: 27. French philosopher and scholar of religion Joseph Ernest Renan’s (1823–92) *Vie de Jésus* has been well-documented as a great influence on Blok during his writing of *Dvenadtsat*. Blok noted in his diary entry for 7 January 1918 that he was reading Renan’s book.

15. *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 11: 305.

176–7; my italics). Tychyna's words are almost an exact translation of Blok's, both semantically and rhythmically. In the same canto, the rifles of Blok's twelve are pointed “на незримого врага” (at an unseen enemy) and “на переулочки глухие” (at deserted alleys, 11: 5, 7). In the antistrophe to Tychyna's last strophe the rifle image also appears: “Свое ж рушниця в нас убила” (The rifle has killed in us what is ours, 187). One other phrase from Blok's long poem echoes strongly in Tychyna's sequence. In the sixth canto, the prostitute Katka is shot through the head (6: 14), as is Tychyna's opponent of killing (29–30). These intertextual echoes strongly suggest Tychyna was familiar with Blok's *poema*, and in light of them it should be productive to examine further the structure of both long poems to uncover additional parallels.

Edward Stankiewicz has aptly characterized the underlying structural principles of *Dvenadtsat* as not a very uncommon phenomenon in twentieth-century Western poetry: “All these works reflect a new conception of the lyrical poem ... which has assigned esthetic priority to the fragment, the open-ended composition and the elliptic utterance over the monothematic, cohesive and well-balanced form.”¹⁶ Tychyna's sequence clearly fits into the mould of these modernist works.

Tychyna's cycle differs markedly from Blok's in its basic organization. Rather than using untitled, consecutively numbered segments, as Blok did, Tychyna divides his cycle into titled strophes paired with corresponding antistrophes, a feature commonly found in the ancient Greek Pindaric ode. But, in a sense Tychyna's poem still mirrors Blok's division into twelve segments. Tychyna begins his work with a ten-line prelude titled “Uzhe svitaie” (Already Dawn's Breaking) whose imagery is borrowed largely from the Ukrainian philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda's nineteenth song of *Sad bozhestvennykh pisnei* (Garden of Divine Songs). The prelude prefaces eleven additional titled segments of varying length, each of which has a corresponding antistrophe that is titled “Antistrofa.” In unpublished drafts of the sequence, Tychyna headed each antistrophe with the title of the preceding segment and the Roman numeral “II.”¹⁷ For example, what in the published version became the first antistrophe was originally titled “Osin. II” (Autumn. II). Both of Tychyna's methods for heading the sections clearly indicates a structural and organic pairing of the parts. Consequently, if we treat each antistrophe as an integral part of each titled segment and as a paired unit, the total number of individually titled sections corresponds to

16. “The Polyphonic Structure of Blok's *Dvenadtsat*,” 347.

17. *Zibrannia tvoriv*, 1: 602.

“the twelve” segments of Blok’s poem. If we include the antistrophic segments separately in the section count, the total is twenty-three sections, or one more than the sum of the number of lines (22) in a sonnet (14) and octave (8). Thus Tychyna’s title may function as a realized numerical metaphor for the sum of the parts of the sequence. The antistrophes are 4 to 12 lines in length and the titled sections 4 to 18, with no immediately apparent organizing principle. The strophes tend to be longer than the antistrophes except for the third section, “Teror” (Terror) and the twelfth section “Kukil” (Tare), which have the same number of lines as their antistrophes.

We can characterize the two poems as montages. Elements of both a lofty and a colloquial style intermingle in each, but the polarity is somewhat more marked in Blok. As critics have noted, Blok’s *poema* combines highly poetic passages with Soviet jargon, slogans, reported speech, vulgarisms, Old Church Slavonicisms, cabaret songs, and marches.¹⁸ Similarly Tychyna’s poem blends revolutionary phraseology, journalese, reported speech, and song. Through this mixture of stylistic elements, both works present scenes from the Revolution. Blok’s is more narrative and dramatic, while Tychyna’s is more lyrical. Metrics play a significant role in the style of the two poems and provide a major point of contrast. Blok uses a variety of classical metres, the *raek*, and songs (*chashtushki*, romances, and marches) to convey the inertia of the revolution. By contrast Tychyna writes in what has been called “rhythmic prose,” which lends itself to a more reflective tone because of its proximity to speech. Furthermore, Tychyna realizes a central metaphor: instead of sonnets and octaves, he gives his readers poetic prose and damns all who have become beasts. Tychyna’s style, as John Fizer has observed, is closer in spirit and substance to Walt Whitman’s, whom Tychyna read in Kornei Chukovsky’s excellent Russian translation.¹⁹

The beginnings and endings of the two cycles offer additional points of contrast. Blok’s first canto begins with a dark evening, white snow, and a furious wind:

18. See Efim Etkind, *Materiia stikha* (Paris: Institut d’études slaves, 1979), 449–78; and Stankiewicz “The Polyphonic Structure of Blok’s *Dvenadtsat*,” especially 351, for two outstanding analyses of the various stylistic components of “Dvenadtsat.” For an analysis of folk elements and elements of carnival in the poem, see B. M. Gasparov and Iu. M. Lotman, “Igrovye momenty v poeme *Dvenadtsat*,” in *Tezisy Pervoi vsesoiuznoi konferentsii “Tvorchestvo A. A. Bloka i russkaia kultura XX veka*,” ed. Z. G. Mints (Tartu: Ulikool, 1975), 53–63.

19. For a discussion of Tychyna’s affinity for Whitman, see John Fizer, “Cosmic Oneness in Whitman and Tychyna: Some Similarities and Differences,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 28, no. 2 (June 1986): 149–56.

Черный вечер.
Белый снег.
Ветер, ветер! (1:1–3)²⁰

The canto ends with the ominous projection of “chernaia zloba” (dark spite, 79) and the anticipation of retribution. In contrast, Tychyna’s poem begins with the early dawn and streams of light plowing through the clouds:

Уже світає, а ще імла ...
На небі зморшка лягла.
— Як зайшла мені печаль!

Промінні заори в’оралися у хмари. (1–4)²¹

It ends with the persona’s outcry, his incantatory condemnation of all those who have become animals:

Прокляття всім, прокляття всім, хто звіром став!
(Замість сонетів і октав). (9–10)²²

Thus the two openings differ in anticipation as well as in tone. Tychyna’s persona reacts to the violence with abhorrence, while Blok’s persona merely observes and reports what he hears and sees without making any value judgments.

The endings also offer a contrast in tonality. Blok’s march of “the twelve” soldiers ends unexpectedly with Christ at their head (“Впереди – Иисус Христос”).²³ Tychyna’s rhetorical ending also has provoked considerable controversy: “Хіба і собі поцілувать пантофлю Папи” (Perhaps I too should kiss the pope’s slipper, 189). Iurii Lavrinenko and other critics have suggested that Tychyna’s “pope” is not a reference to the

20. Dark evening. / White snow. / The wind, the wind!

21. Already dawn’s breaking, but there’s still mist ... / In the sky a crease has formed. / —How I am overcome with sadness! // Radiant furrows have been plowed into clouds.

22. Let all those be damned, let all those be damned who have become beasts! / (Instead of sonnets and octaves).

23. The controversial ending is discussed by virtually all Blok scholars, including I. S. Prikhodko, in “Obraz Khrista v poeme A. Bloka ‘Dvenadtsat’”: Istoriko-kulturnaia i religiozno-mifologicheskia traditsiia,” *Izvestiia Akademii nauk: Seriia literatury i iazyka* 50, no. 5 (September–October 1991): 426–44; and L. I. Eremina, in “Starinnye rozy Aleksandra Bloka: K istolkovanniiu finala poemy ‘Dvenadtsat,’” *Filologicheskie nauki*, 1982, no. 4: 17–24.

head of the Catholic Church in Rome, but rather to the Russian “pope”—Lenin.²⁴

An analysis of lyrical personae indicates one of the most significant differences between the two poems. Stankiewicz has noted that “the absence of the author’s I … [in *Dvenadtsat*] contributes strongly to the blurring of the distance between the author and his heroes.”²⁵ Blok’s persona is a passive observer and chronicler whose existence blends and intertwines with the activities of the twelve soldiers. He reports the “music” of what he hears and offers no interpretation. At one point he attempts to deal with questions of morality and human sorrow—in Petka’s internal monologues in sections 5 and 8 of *Dvenadtsat*. Nevertheless these internal monologues end in a drunken lack of resolution over Katka the prostitute’s death. Blok writes:

Выпью кровушку
За зазнобушку
Чернобровушку … (8: 13–15)²⁶

In sharp contrast, Tychyna’s lyrical “I” actively questions the occurring events; this is accomplished in part through a contrapuntal breakdown of the poem into strophes and antistrophes, which in ancient Greek lyric poetry and tragedy often allowed a poet to examine the same idea from opposite points of view. The curse in the prelude offers the first example of this active persona: “Прокляття всім, прокляття всім, хто звіром став!” In his fifth antistrophe, Tychyna writes: “До речі: соціалізм без музики ніякими гарматами / не встановити” (By the way: socialism without music cannot be established / by cannons of any kind). And in the tenth he adds: “Все можна виправдати високою метою—та тільки / не порожнечу душі” (Everything can be justified by a lofty purpose, / except emptiness of the soul). Tychyna’s persona undergoes a number of grammatical transformations in the poem. In the prelude he is passive—the grammatical recipient of sorrowful feelings, characterized by the dative pronominal form “мені” ‘to me’ twice and grammatically absent in the verbal first person singular form “чую” ‘I feel’. His presence becomes slightly more pronounced in the possessive adjective “моя” ‘my’ in the exhortation to his mother and then becomes a transcendent, universal “I” in his curse upon those who participate in the killing. In the next strophe his persona becomes

24. Iurii Lavrinenko, “Na shliakhakh syntezy kliarnetyzmu,” *Suchasnist*, 1977, nos. 7–8: 91.

25. Stankiewicz, “The Polyphonic Structure of Blok’s *Dvenadtsat*,” 351.

26. I’ll drink up blood / For my sweetheart, / My black-browed beauty ...

an observer and merely narrates impersonally. The ultimate difference between Tychyna's lyrical "I" and Blok's lies in the fact that the former makes an unambiguously moral judgment about the violence of the revolution. He cannot comprehend the world's loss of music and harmony to the cannonades. Blok's persona, as Stankiewicz points out, remains somehow distanced. Yet Blok is in close step with and in a hypnotic fervour from the rhythms and cadences of the cataclysmic event.

One of the essential compositional features in both poems is the presence of song in various forms and the elusive "spirit of music." Efim Etkind offers a detailed analysis of the structure of *Dvenadtsat*.²⁷ He focusses on what he terms its "principle of musical composition" and suggests that Blok's sequence of poems is a cycle, something similar to a musical suite or a lyrical novel.²⁸ He also points out that Blok uses the musical devices of repetitive motifs and phrases as well as parallelism for the basic compositional structure of the work. He notes that Blok's poem begins with an exposition in part 1 and ends with a finale in part 12, which repeats the cosmic opening and completes the work's compositional ring.²⁹ In addition, he distinctly shows the musical pairings of the individual segments of *Dvenadtsat*. As he notes, parts 3 and 10 are linked by the themes of the song. The former contains a montage of three songs (*chastushki*), while the latter repeats the song structure, including an excerpt from Kryzhanovsky's revolutionary song "Varshavianka." In addition, Etkind demonstrates that the contrapuntal structure of the work is built on contrasts: the colour black versus white, Satan ("dog") versus Christ. One might add that Blok includes solemn musical passages from the Orthodox funeral service. Specifically, I have in mind canto 8, line 16: "Упокий, Господи, душу / рабы твоей" (Give peace, O Lord, to the soul / of thy servant). In the context of Blok's poem, however, this passage does not convey the elevated, solemn tone of the church service, but is used ironically. Critics have either praised or condemned Blok for capturing the "dissonant" musicality of the revolution, the spirit of the times. Significantly, virtually all the songs included in *Dvenadtsat* represent "low" culture, the culture of the masses about to take power in Russia.

One should note that for Blok the term "musicality" does not mean music in the literal sense, but rather represents a metaphor for his philosophy of life, a life in harmony with others. He expresses that metaphorical notion of harmony in his famous Pushkin speech, "O naznachenii poeta" (The

27. *Materiia stikha*, 449–78.

28. *Ibid.*, 449.

29. *Ibid.*, 451.

Poet's Purpose), delivered on 13 February 1921, in which he called on poets to bring harmony into the world of chaos. In Blok's words: "The poet is a son of harmony, and he is granted a role in world culture. Three tasks are incumbent upon him: first, to liberate sounds from the native anarchic elements in which they dwell; second, to harmonize these sounds and give them form; third, to bring this harmony into the outer world."³⁰ Thus, near the end of his life Blok essentially recanted his earlier views on the revolution's "music" by insisting that the poet's primary purpose is to create music out of chaos. One should also keep in mind that Blok had no formal musical training and might even have been tone-deaf.³¹

In his poetic reconstruction of the revolution, Tychyna sensed the harmony that Blok later talked about in his Pushkin speech, but he did so with a considerably deeper and formal understanding of music. This constitutes the major difference in the two poets' perception of music. Tychyna had considerable formal musical training and honed his skills during his seminary studies and later as director of Stetsenko's choir, which toured Ukraine in 1920. That professional training left a distinct mark on his work. The very division of *Zamist sonetiv i oktav* into strophes and antistrophes suggests a highly developed musical form. In Greek lyric poetry and tragedy, the chorus sang the strophe while moving in one direction, the antistrophe while moving in another, and the epode (the typical third component of a Pindaric ode) while standing still.

Tychyna directly quotes a line from a *chastushka* and structures his first antistrophe on the model of the song form. "Ой, яблочко, да куда котишся" (O, little apple, where are you rolling, 24) comes from a cycle of *chastushki* that became popular during the Russian Civil War and dealt with themes associated with that period. For example:

Эх, яблочко,
Ананасно,
Не ходи за мной, буржуй,
Я вся красная

or,

Ах, яблочко,
Сбоку зелено.

30. Carl Proffer, ed., *Russian Poets on Poetry* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1976), 73. For the passage in the original Russian, see Aleksandr Blok, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 6: 162.

31. I thank Carol Ueland for pointing out the latter to me.

Нам не надо царя,
Надо Ленина.³²

According to Soviet scholars, the cycle had its origin in an eight-line pre-revolutionary Russian song, which, in turn, was based on a Ukrainian prototype and similar to Ukrainian *kolomyika* song and dance rhythms.³³ Tychyna's use of the *chastushka* form comprises an isolated incident in his poem, while Blok's is a device that structures his entire *poema*. Mandelstam alluded to it as a structural device when he called *Dvenadtsat* a "monumental dramatic *chastushka*."³⁴

Tychyna's persona in the prelude of his poem first hears fanfares that seem to bode well for the future, but he soon recognizes his misperception of the music: "Ой, не фанфари то, а сурми і гармати" (Oh, those aren't fanfares, but trumpets and cannons, 7). Then he describes the revolution's aims in musical terms. In the section "Osin" he writes: "Взяли трохи цегли / і стільки ж музики. Думали — перемеженитися" (They took a few bricks / and just as much music. They thought they would manage, 20-1). The unnatural fusion of brick, a prosaic, yet primary building component, with music, an emblem for refined culture, fails, as "На культурах усього світу майові губки поросли" (On all the cultures of the world May mould has grown, 23). In the antistrophe paired with the section "Ispyt" (Test), Tychyna's persona points to the higher cultural and spiritual music that will lead toward truth:

Найглибший, найвеличніший і разом з тим
найпростіший зміст, укладений на двох-трьох
нотах, — оце є справжній гімн.

Без конкурсів, без нагород напишіть ви сучасне
"Христос воскрес". (149–53)³⁵

32. Oh, little apple, / Like a pineapple, / Don't follow me, bourgeois, / I'm an all red girl. // Ah, little apple, / Green on the side. / We don't need the tsar, / We need Lenin" (V. S. Bakhtina, comp., *Chastushka* [Moscow and Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel, 1966], 314).

33. Ibid., 583.

34. Stankiewicz, "The Polyphonic Structure of Blok's *Dvenadtsat*," 346.

35. The profoundest, the greatest and at the same time / the simplest content composed of two or three / notes—that's a true hymn. // Without contests, without awards write the contemporary / 'Christ is Risen.'

The Easter hymn “Christ is Risen” represents individual salvation and calls attention to Tychyna’s own attempt to create a new hymn for a new era in *Zamist sonetiv i oktav*.

References to musical terminology and musical metaphors abound in Tychyna’s poem. In fact, the poet structures the entire section “*Liu*” on musical principles. He plays on the sound *liu* throughout the strophe and remarks: “все звучить на О” (everything gives the sound O, 51). Vasyl Barka maintained that here Tychyna directly lays bare his device of building a sonatina in several keys—one of them “O.”³⁶ The strophe contains a number of assonances of the vowels *o*, *u/iu*, *y/i*, *a/ia*, and *e/ie*. It also includes a number of consonances, particularly of the phoneme *l*. The first two lines of the strophe provide the best example: “Сплю — не сплю. Чиюсь вволяю волю. Лю. / I раптом якось повно! Люлі — лю ...” (I sleep—sleep not. I do someone else’s will. Lov. / And suddenly everything seems full! Lullaby ..., 48–9, my italics). Once more Tychyna lays bare the musical device in line 63: “Розплющую очі (консонанси)” (I open my eyes [“consonances”]). The “keys” of the major choral themes coalesce in line 49 in the refrain from the lullaby (*liuli-liu*), which is repeated in line 56. Here Tychyna accentuates the theme of the song, but in contrast to the *chastushki*, street ditties for the masses, he chooses a simple children’s lullaby, the emblem of love and innocence. The single syllable *liu* in part indicates the quintessential theme of the poem. *Liu* is a possible first-person singular ending of Ukrainian second-conjugation verbs. As the ‘T’ form, it refers to the individual who stands at the centre of Tychyna’s ethical world presented in the poem. In addition, it is the reduplicated component of the first-person singular verb form *liu(b)liu* ‘I love’, which expresses in a single word the essence of the poet’s plea for an end to the killing, an end to the law of the beast.

The musical term “legato” provides a metaphor for a stagnating, uninteresting life in lines 56 and 57: “Геть через усе життя прослалося легато (гудок на / заводі). Годі!” (Legato has penetrated all life [a factory / whistle]. Enough!). A bird in line 57 then sings in trioles (three rhythmically identical notes equal in overall length to two notes). The persona again uses a musical term to conclude that “Очевидчаки люде лише по духу енгармонійні. Бо / всі трагедії і драми — врешті є консонанси!” (Evidently only in spirit are people enharmonic. For / in the end all tragedies and dramas are consonances! 60–1). “Enharmonic” is defined either as a

36. Letter to Michael Naydan dated 22 May 1980.

scale including quarter tones in ancient Greek music or as “intervals and chords identical in sound, but written differently according to the context in which they appear.”³⁷ Tychyna’s metaphor emphasizes the individuality and unique differences among people, who, despite their differences, like enharmonics, are basically the same in nature. All individual tragedies and dramas represent the natural order of life, life’s ultimate consonance of harmony. Generally octaves are considered consonant, and this fact recalls the poem’s title, which suggests that instead of “octaves” (in the musical rather than the poetic sense), instead of harmony, Tychyna sees disharmony or chaos around him. But according to Tychyna, the poet must seek only harmony. As a new power enters the city in line 62 (this is most likely a reference to the Red Army’s defeat of Symon Petliura in 1919) and as Tychyna’s persona awakens and opens his eyes, a striking visual image greets him: “На стіні від сонця густорамне вікно, як огнистий / дієз...” (On the wall away from the sun the lattice-framed window is a like a fiery / sharp, 64–5). The window in the shape of the sharp (#) suggests a prison on fire. The image of destructive fire contrasts with the light of dawn in the cycle’s prelude and its intimation of a new beginning.

In the section “Naivyshcha syla” (The Highest Power), Tychyna writes: “А над усім містом величезний / рояль грав” (And above the whole city an enormous / piano played, 79–80). The instrument symbolizes high culture and spirituality, and through its music the persona understands that Easter has come, with its obvious suggestion of death, resurrection, and renewal. In the corresponding antistrophe, Tychyna comments on the theme of love in more personal terms: “Я ніколи не покохаю жінку, котрій бракує / слуху” (I shall never love a woman who lacks / an ear for music, 81–2). The same antistrophe asserts that socialism cannot be established by violence, by cannons, without music, that is, without higher aesthetic and moral values.

In the poem’s final antistrophe, Tychyna concludes that “Грати Скрябіна тюремним наглядачам — це ще не є революція” (Playing Skriabin for prison guards is not yet revolution, 183). Tychyna uses the Russian composer as a figure analogous to Blok. Like Blok, Skriabin was a representative of high culture and, at the same time, an artist who experienced an all-consuming mystical fervour, which is most evident in his composition *Poem of Ecstasy*. He wrote many pieces without a fixed tonality and often fused harmony and melody in extraordinarily unique ways. He succeeded in blending discordant elements, a haunting dissonance, into a

37. William Apel and Ralph T. Daniel, eds., *The Harvard Brief Dictionary of Music* (New York: Pocket Books, 1960), 91.

concordant whole. Consequently the rhetorical question that concludes *Zamist sonetiv i oktav* poses a moral choice for the poet who has witnessed the monarchists', nationalists', and Bolsheviks' claim to represent will of the people ("Орел, Тризубець, Серп і Молот ... І кожне виступає як своє" [The Eagle, the Trident, the Hammer and Sickle ... And each (of them) appears as ours, 185–6]). Should he "kiss the pope's slipper," give in to whoever is in power, or should he take a moral stand? In fact Tychyna did acquiesce and, in doing so, managed to survive the Stalin regime that persecuted, imprisoned, and executed hundreds of writers and intellectuals. What happened to Tychyna might have been Blok's fate had Blok not taken an unambiguous moral stand in his life as a "son of harmony" and virtually willed his own death in 1921.

In sum, Blok's and Tychyna's poems on the revolution differ dramatically in both their manner and their means of expressing the "music" of revolution. Blok's vision in *Dvenadtsat* is a shifting one that, while attuned to the revolution's rhythms, inadvertently becomes a part of the event. Tychyna's persona in *Zamist sonetiv i oktav* struggles against the destruction and violence he observes and seeks the higher spiritual music of individual human dignity. He searches for the lyrical in the prosaic. Yet the rhetorical question at the end of the cycle leaves the future of Tychyna's persona in doubt. The ending of his cycle is just as ambiguous as Blok's. Blok's brilliant poem has garnered worldwide attention for lyrically encapsulating the revolution as an earth-shattering event. Likewise, Tychyna's alternative conception of the music of revolution deserves a much wider audience than it has had until now.

The Concept of Personal Revolution in Mykola Kulish's Early Plays

Marko Robert Stech

The majority of critics of Mykola Kulish's dramaturgy agree that the most important aspect of his first two plays—97 and *Komuna v stepakh* (A Commune in the Steppes)—is his depiction of the Ukrainian Revolution. There is, in fact, little doubt that these plays present micro-level models (based on examples of particular village communities) of the revolution as it unfolded in Ukraine in the early 1920s. However, the majority of critics, both in Ukraine and in the West, erroneously assume that the playwright's primary objective was to describe the revolutionary struggle as a process motivated by socio-economic forces. A closer examination of Kulish's texts (and contexts) reveals that in these early plays he was already preoccupied primarily with the subtle psychological motivations of characters for whom the revolutionary conflict reflects a personal struggle for a "new life"—a concept onto which they project a whole spectrum of conscious and unconscious aspirations. As a result, the revolution is perceived by these characters as quasi-religious in nature, and Soviet ideology is transformed into popular religion.¹

1. A number of scholars in post-Soviet Ukraine have discussed the quasi-religious nature of Soviet Marxism-Leninism as opposed to the rationalistic worldview of Marx's original philosophy. Mykhailo Braichevsky's "Do konspektu istorii Ukrayiny," *Pamiatky Ukrayiny*, 1991, no. 3, was one of the first voices in this discussion. A similar quasi-religious attitude was exhibited by revolutionaries during the French Revolution; for them the revolution had a religious dimension as a struggle against the Christian conception of God in favour of the "goddess of Reason." This aspect of their ideology found eloquent expression in Claude Saint-Simon's socialism as the New Christianity.

Most Soviet critics treated 97 and *Komuna v stepakh* as a glorification of the Ukrainian people's struggle for communism.² This approach was not only a result of the critics' ideological bias and of the official requirements of Soviet scholarly institutions, but was also derived from the apparent structural and contextual affinity of these works to early Soviet propaganda plays. Ivan Dniprovsky described the standard structure of these early Soviet plays: "Before the appearance of [Kulish's] 97, absolutely all of the revolutionary plays provided dramatic clichés. Two struggling camps were introduced; they were populated by second- and third-rate characters; an appropriate introduction and conclusion were designed, and amazingly, with few exceptions, all of these plays ended with the solemn singing of the *Internationale*. Usually, [these] revolutionary and counter-revolutionary clichéd characters moved around, recited their lines, and performed actions appropriate to their schematic roles."³

Both 97 and *Komuna v stepakh* are, in fact, somewhat similar to the plays Dniprovsky described.⁴ The main dramatic component in both of Kulish's plays is a violent confrontation between two ideologically opposed camps, and in their printed versions, both plays have a propagandistic "happy" ending.

The optimistic and "ideologically correct" finale of 97, however, cannot really define the work as a propaganda play because it was introduced into the text by Soviet authorities without the author's consent.⁵ In Kulish's original version, the play ended with the death of all ninety-seven members

2. See, for example, Iu. Ivanenko, "Mykola Kulish, '97,'" *Chervonyi shliakh*, 1930, nos. 5–6: 231–2; Iu. Kysielov, *Dramaturhy Ukrayny* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1967); and N. Kuziakina, *Piesy Mykoly Kulisha* (Kyiv: Radianskyi pysmennyk, 1970).

3. I. Dniprovsky, "'97,'" *Chervonyi shliakh*, 1925, nos. 6–7: 336.

4. Kulish wrote 97 with the intention of staging it in amateur village theatres in southern Ukraine. However, he did not intend to make it a propaganda play. An indirect indication of this can be found in his letters to Dniprovsky in which, commenting on the play, he wrote: "The play will inadvertently be somewhat propagandistic" (Kulish, *Tvory v dvokh tomakh*, ed. L. Taniuk [Kyiv: Dnipro, 1990], 2: 490). The term "inadvertently" clearly suggests that Kulish wanted to present something other than a one-sided glorification of the Communist struggle.

5. The Repertoire Committee recommended 97 for performance in the "A" category, i.e., in all theatres, but on condition that the author "introduce at the end of act four a commissar bringing bread to the villagers. The kulaks are arrested and Smyk [a Communist protagonist] survives" (quoted in Kuziakina, *Piesy Mykoly Kulisha*, 9; the original document is in the Odesa National Archive). To provide the play at its premiere performance at the Franko Drama Theatre with an optimistic and "ideologically correct" message, the director, Hnat Iura, replaced the tragic conclusion with a happy ending.

of the commune. Kulish was aware of the fact that the authorities' altered version of the finale ruined "the inner structure of the play" and distorted the play's message.⁶ But despite his displeasure with this tampering, he was never permitted to change the final scene back to its original form. Both his revised version of the play printed in 1925, and a second revision, written in 1929, conclude with some sort of "happy ending."

Thus, while acknowledging the literary value of the plays and the credibility of their characters, most Soviet critics, even until the late 1980s, treated *97* and *Komuna v stepakh* simply as propaganda plays. They automatically assumed that both works are illustrations of the Marxist principles of class struggle⁷ and that the communards, who support Soviet rule, are presented as morally superior to the rich landowners, who oppose the Communist revolution.⁸ While many post-Soviet Ukrainian scholars have departed from the former official interpretation of these plays as representing a glorification of the Communist revolution, most of them have nevertheless tended to repeat the Soviet "class-oriented" clichés.⁹

Even a quick reading of *97* suggests that these assumptions are, at best, a glaring oversimplification. In fact Kulish does not characterize the play's opposing camps in such a one-sided manner, and class inequality does not play a decisive role in the dramatic conflict. Moreover, the communist ideal

6. Kulish was appalled by the Repertoire Committee's decision and complained in his letter to Dniprovsky: "I nurtured *97* inside me until [its characters] became warm and alive and until they began to laugh and cry. Only then did I put them on paper. The finale can have only one version: the extinction of the village commune during the famine. And now, if someone alters the finale, no matter how, the inner structure of the play will be destroyed" (Kulish, *Tvory*, 2: 513).

7. In her study of *97* Nataliia Kuziakina writes: "The tensions of conflict in Kulish's play were determined by class and social inequality. All other [factors] were negligible" (*Piesy Mykoly Kulisha*, 20).

8. Most Soviet critics approved of Kulish's alleged bias in his presentation of the play's protagonists. While they found the characters of the communards "crystal-clear," they felt that the kulaks were presented as "semi-monsters, wolves in human form ... whose characters exhibit the various levels of viciousness, evil, and slyness possessed by class enemies" (Ivanenko, "Mykola Kulish, '97," 231).

9. For example, in his ostensibly revisionist interpretation of Kulish's early works, Ivan Semenchuk still suggests that it is the "common class interests" that unite the kulaks in their struggle against the poor villagers (*Slukhai muzyku liudskoi dushi* [Kyiv: Biblioteka ukrainstia, 1997], 91), and, like his Soviet predecessors, he demonizes the kulaks while idealizing Kopystka as a person characterized by "sincerity, straightforwardness, modesty, a certain innocent naiveté, but, at the same time, a high-principled revolutionary consciousness and an unwavering belief in justice and the invincibility of a people of which he considers himself to be a part" (*ibid.*, 86–7).

is not glorified, but rather tinged with irony and ambiguity, since Kulish selects the winter of 1922–23 (a period of famine) as the setting for 97.¹⁰ I shall explore these points further and attempt to show how the play is a study of a society on the brink of a fundamental revolutionary change, which is perceived as religious in nature.

The play 97 is set in a small village in southern Ukraine during the grain requisitioning and famine of 1922–23. The main dramatic conflict focusses on the struggle between two camps that divide the village population into two roughly equal halves. One side consists of the communards—mostly poor, landless villagers, who are represented primarily by the play's main protagonist, Musii Kopystka, his wife Paraska, and the head of the village council, Serhii Smyk. They support Soviet rule and blindly obey each order that comes from the county soviet. The opposing camp consists of the kulaks (Ukrainian: *kukuli*), whose main representatives are the rich peasants Hyriia and Hodovany.

The conflict between the communards and the kulaks is sparked by a new Soviet directive ordering the expropriation of church property by the

10. The famine, which took place in the steppes of southern and eastern Ukraine in 1922 and 1923, was caused not only by the devastations of the Ukrainian-Russian War, but also by Lenin's order to collect grain from Ukrainian peasants according to a quota that he himself established. In October 1921 Lenin wrote an angry letter to the chairman of the Organizational Bureau for the Reconstruction of the Industry of Ukraine, Vlas Chubar, in which he complained about the fact that the Ukrainian peasants turned in only "one quarter of the set quota" (*V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu*, ed. O. Iurchenko and T. Kolishev [Kyiv: Polityvdav Ukrainy, 1969], 2: 613). This "one quarter of the set quota" in actuality represented eighty percent of the total harvest, and the forcible collection of the grain caused a devastating famine, particularly in Ukraine's southern oblasts. Officially the grain from Ukrainian villages was to be used to feed starving city workers, but in fact large amounts of it were exported to Western Europe. Kulish's conscious choice to use this famine as the setting for 97 indicates that as early as his first play he was already questioning the historical expediency and moral justification of the Bolshevik revolution. In this ironic political setting (especially in the initial version of the play, in which all members of the commune die), the heroism of the communards and their unwavering faith in the revolution seem tragically futile. The political "ambiguity" inherent in the tragic finale (and amplified by such statements of the play's protagonists as "Ніколи ще до нас не возили [хліба] — тільки вивозили" (They have never brought [bread] to us. They have always taken it away, *Tvory*, 1: 78), was the reason why Soviet authorities insisted that the ending of the play be altered. One should also note that the intrinsically pessimistic "message" of the original version of 97, as seen in this context, foreshadows the fatalism of Kulish's later plays, in particular *Maklena Grasa*, which was hailed by Iurii Sherekh (George Y. Shevelov) as a forerunner of Louis-Ferdinand Céline's *Journey to the End of Night*. See Sherekh, "Shosta symfoniiia Mykoly Kulisha," in his *Ne dlia ditei* (New York: Proloh, 1964), 79.

county centre. Despite opposition from the kulaks, the communards carry out the order and send their leader, Serhii Smyk, to the county centre with the church gold and a request for bread for the starving village population. Smyk returns triumphantly with the life-saving provisions and the kulaks are arrested.

Even a superficial reading of the plot evinces sound reasons for dismissing Kuziakina's view that class inequality and economic factors are the main driving forces behind the conflict and the revolutionary struggle in the village. On the contrary, purely economic issues seem to play a secondary role. The grain-requisitioning campaign in the village was conducted without a serious incident, and the village population continued to live in relative peace. The confrontation between the two groups of villagers is sparked by an outside force, namely, the nuns who arrive to collect money for a new church.¹¹ The nuns, who have been sent by the church "hierarchy" represent the church in general, remain in the village for the duration of the conflict and continue to influence and aggravate the confrontation between the two camps. They even seem to be endowed with quasi-demonic characteristics by appearing and disappearing in critical moments without a sound like dark shadows.¹²

As for the "class struggle," it is evident that the characters' social class does not immediately determine their membership in a particular camp. A number of poor peasants actually support the kulaks' position on the issue of the church gold. The character Panko shows that class affiliation is irrelevant to one's ideological consciousness. As the secretary of the village council, he is by far the most "genuine Soviet" character: he is not only one of the main founders of the commune, but also a representative of the new Communist mentality and the only commune member to have taken part in actual combat. In addition, he wholeheartedly shares Soviet views on the family and sexual freedom, which, incidentally, the other communards, including Kopystka, do not share.¹³ Ironically it is Panko who betrays his comrades and ideology by deciding to join the kulaks and marry Hyriia's daughter in church. His decision

11. The intrusive nature of the nuns' arrival is best characterized by Kopystka: "Провокація ... це вони все село нам зворушать, а найпаче багатіїв отих — Гирію, Годованого" (It's a provocation ... they will stir up the whole village, particularly those moneybags Hyriia and Hodovany, *Tvory*, 1: 44).

12. This is one of the indications of the spiritual and quasi-religious dimension of the conflict in 97.

13. Kopystka expresses his distrust of the new moral code to Panko: "Бо чоловік не півень, і обратно: без жінки, як без хати" (Because man is not a rooster, and conversely, [life] without a wife is like [life] without a home, *Tvory*, 1: 47).

is hardly motivated by the principles of “class struggle”: it stems from his general disillusionment with the “new order” and from such “negligible” (according to Soviet critics) factors as the libido.

Upon closer examination of the two camps and their respective actions, it turns out that, notwithstanding their violent opposition to each other, they are strikingly similar and their members have almost identical psychological characteristics. For one thing, both camps possess similar hierarchical structures: both have two principal leaders (Kopystka and Smyk for the communards and Hyriia and Hodovany for the kulaks). These leaders shape the ideological orientation and actions of their respective camps, while the rest of the characters are only passive supporters of their group. The leaders of both groups are equally ready to manipulate their opponents and their supporters by spreading disinformation and even outright lies while justifying their arbitrary and often lawless actions as being “the will of the people,” a meaningless phrase given the division among the villagers.

An even more striking similarity between the two camps lies in the fact that their actions are governed by “faith,” a fact that has eluded most critics of the play. Both the kulaks and the communards believe they are guided by a higher power. For the kulaks this is the church and ultimately God. They perceive the events of the revolution as a reflection of a “divine” struggle between God and communism. This is best expressed in their prayer, in which both powers are presented as equally powerful: “О господи, царю небесний! Перебори ти силою своєю революцію! Попали ти її огнем своїм! Попелом укрий! Вітром розвій! Поверни все на старий лад!.. Та наваже ж ти не в силах подужати комуну? Бий її, трохи, з корінням виривай геть!”¹⁴

In a similar way, the communards look to the Soviet leadership for guidance, support, and salvation and endow it with the divine qualities of omniscience and permanence. This attitude is apparent, for example, in Iukhym’s statement, “прийшла Советська влада, которая за нашего брата стала і стоїть.... I до судної дошки стоятиме.”¹⁵ It underpins the substitution of references to God by references to Soviet power in certain

14. O Lord, our Heavenly King! Defeat the Revolution through your power! Burn it with your fire! Cover it with ashes! Blow it away with the wind! Return everything to the old order! *Can it be that you are not powerful enough to defeat the commune?* Strike it, crush it, uproot it! (my emphasis; *ibid.*, 67). The meaning of “комуна” here is ambiguous. It may mean “commune” or “communism.”

15. Soviet power, which rose up on behalf of our brother and stands up for him, has arrived.... and it will stand [thus] until Judgment Day (*ibid.*, 75).

customary expressions; for instance, Ivan Stonozhka excuses himself before taking a drink by altering the words Christians use to ask for God's pardon: "нехай нам Радянська влада простить."¹⁶ Furthermore, the communards' devotion to Soviet ideology exhibits a striking similarity to the kulaks' belief in the teachings of the church. Responding to the kulaks' remark that he used to be a practicing Christian in the past, Smyk describes his "conversion" to communism by using biblical language: "Був і я темний, та, спасибі революції, прозрів."¹⁷

That the communards perceive the Soviet leadership as a religious rather than a political power is hardly surprising given their particular psychological situation. As products of the old order, they were conditioned by their upbringing not only to associate the power of the state with a religious authority, but also to interpret any major external event as the work of "higher powers." Thus, witnessing the conflict between the emergent Soviet power and the established religious power of the church, they, like the kulaks, naturally perceive it as a confrontation between two "divine" authorities fighting for control over their lives. This perception is reinforced by the fact that the Soviet government and the church place virtually identical demands on the villagers. Besides blind faith and obedience, both powers demand material sacrifice: the Soviet authorities collect grain from the villagers to maintain the new order, while the church (via the nuns) collects money to build a new temple. The communards' quasi-religious faith in Soviet ideology and their veneration of Soviet leaders stem from the fact that they know next to nothing about them. Isolated from the actual arena of the revolution, they are no wiser about the Soviet government and its laws than the kulaks are about the nature of God and the teachings of the church. Occasional meetings with minor county officials (who can hardly be considered real representatives of the Soviet government), scarce written materials (which, in any case, the illiterate population cannot read), and hearsay are the only means by which the village remains informed about the new Soviet order. All of these factors are conducive to the rise among the simple folk of a blind, quasi-religious faith in the omnipotent authority of the new Soviet masters, especially since—as I shall discuss later—the common people unconsciously project on the new order their personal aspirations for psychological and spiritual growth.

Kulish establishes the quasi-religious dimension of the conflict in 97 by his frequent use of biblical motifs. Not only do the villagers have biblical

16. May the Soviet regime forgive us (*ibid.*, 45).

17. I too was blind, but, thanks to the revolution, I can see now (*ibid.*, 76).

prototypes—for example, Panko, who betrays his comrades, is called Judas, and the sufferings of the village community are compared to Job's—but some scenes are deliberately modelled on biblical events. The best example of this is a scene in act four, in which the kulaks bring to Kopystka, the acting head of the village council, two peasants who have pleaded guilty to cannibalism. Kopystka's refusal to condemn them clearly parallels the story of Christ refusing to pass judgment on a prostitute.

In his description of this scene, Kulish intentionally distorts the biblical story and presents the events in the village as a bitter parody of their New Testament models. Unlike their biblical counterparts—the Pharisees—the kulaks are not moved by compassion and understanding. Ready to punish the cannibals, Hodovany proudly proclaims: “Я перший піднімаю руку”¹⁸ and executes both “criminals.” Kopystka, in the role of the village Christ, suggests that judgment should be passed by higher authorities, but he fails to dissuade the angry crowd from lynching the offenders. In his speech, which clearly parodies the Bible, he proclaims: “Не мені і не вам їх судити.... Не мені, кажу, ѿ не вам, бо ми не спеціальні люди. До повіту треба вдаритися, щоб приїхала комісія, бо до цього діла треба таких суддів, щоб на голову спеціальні були.”¹⁹

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this pivotal scene is the fact that it is not the ostensibly Christian kulaks, but the commandant Kopystka—a man who denounces the Christian doctrine—who follows Christ's example and defends the cannibals. On the one hand, by presenting him as a Christlike figure, Kulish suggests that Kopystka is a carrier of a “new spirituality” (“the new Christianity” to use Claude Saint-Simon's expression), a “new faith” that is to supplant the kulaks' “old religion.”²⁰ On the other hand, by deliberately bringing together Soviet ideology (represented by Kopystka's political affiliation) and Christianity (represented by his “good deed,” his *imitatio Christi*, so to speak), Kulish clearly indicates that the underlying causes of the revolutionary struggle in the village have very little to do with actual ideological differences between Christianity and commu-

18. I am the first to raise my hand [against them] (*ibid.*, 89).

19. It is neither my task nor yours to judge them.... Neither mine, I say, nor yours, because we are not special people. We have to ask the county soviet to send a commission, because this matter requires judges with exceptional expertise (*ibid.*, 88).

20. It is important to note, however, that this “new spirituality” is by no means equated with the actual Communist ideology. Kopystka's act of compassion does not conform to the principles of War Communism, and his marital fidelity and devotion to his wife contrasts sharply with the new Soviet moral code.

nism. This, again, is hardly surprising given that the villagers, especially the communards, have only a minimal understanding of the guiding principles of their respective ideologies. Their ignorance is clearly illustrated in the trial scene when Kopystka, who does not know any better, creates his own distorted version of Soviet law in order to proclaim himself head of the Revolutionary Committee. His free interpretation of the principles of Soviet ideology is undisputed because no one in the village knows the new law and can challenge his claim to power.²¹ The irony is further heightened by the fact that Kopystka claims to represent “the will of the people” when most of the commune’s supporters are already dead and there are only three votes for the commune.

The play 97 in general, and the trial scene in particular, depicts the revolutionary conflict in the village as a chaotic and apparently senseless power struggle—a state of anarchy in which old laws are no longer valid and new laws have not yet been established. The essence of this struggle seems to be neither ideological (Christianity versus communism) nor class-based (rich versus poor peasants), neither politically motivated nor inspired by purely economic interests. The best way to describe it is “the new order versus the old order.” Since the communards actively support the power that attempts to change the existing state of affairs, while the kulaks oppose any change in the status quo whatsoever (as their impassioned plea to God, “Return everything to the old order!” shows).

21. “Годований: Ми, народ, питаемо, — де предсідатель?... Виходить — утекла ваша влада? Виходить — владі нема?...

Копистка: Ша, трошки, ша! Бо є ревком....

Годований: Ревком? Де він? Хто?

Копистка: Тутечки він, ось!... Я предсідатель, а оцей парнишка, товариш Стоножкин, — секретар. Протокол є. Вам чого требується?

Годований: Та хто вас обрав? Де ви взялися?

Копистка: Тут і не требується обирати. Тут так: об’явився — і шабаш. Аби тільки за бідний клас стояв. Такий совітський закон є.... I не думайте, не прости собі закон, а секретний і вроді воєнний” (*ibid.*, 85–6).

(Hodovany: We, the people, ask you: where is the chairman?... So it turns out your government has run away? It turns out there is no government?...)

Kopystka: Silence! There’s the Revolutionary Committee....

Hodovany: Revolutionary Committee? Where? Who?

Kopystka: Right here!... I’m the chairman, and this lad, Comrade Stonozhkin, is the secretary. We have the minutes. What else do you need?

Hodovany: And who elected you? Where did you come from?

Kopystka: Nobody needs to be elected here. It’s like this: one proclaims oneself and that’s that. As long as one is for the poor class. That’s how the Soviet law goes.... And don’t think it’s an ordinary law. It’s a secret, something like wartime, law.)

In order to understand the underlying basis of the revolutionary conflict in 97, one must examine the communards' motivations for joining the revolution. For the most part, these motivations are unconscious and not easy to define, because the communards do not clearly understand what to expect from the new political situation. Kopystka repeatedly asserts that the Soviet authorities uphold "the poor class" and will continue to do so under all circumstances, but he never clearly specifies the nature of this support. Moreover, in the play the poor class is not genuinely supported by the Soviets, who secretly sell the starving villagers' grain quotas. The only clear indication of what Kopystka expects from the "new order" is expressed at the beginning of the play, when he exclaims to his wife: "Ти чула, що казав Ленін? Тоді новий світ настане, як ми з тобою рихметики вивчимось."²²

The key phrase in Kopystka's naive statement—"the new world"—provides a hint of what the communards in 97, as well as an array of other characters in Kulish's later plays, are trying to achieve by participating in the revolution. For Kopystka the idealized "new world" is associated with education (learning arithmetic), self-determination (assuming an influential role in the life of his community) and the improvement of people's living conditions. Thus his commitment to the revolution is based entirely on his personal (and fundamentally not materialistic or socio-economic) aspirations. By joining the revolution, Kopystka and other communards are, in fact, struggling to realize their personal dreams for a "new life"—a concept that they themselves comprehend only intuitively. The protagonists of 97 are not sophisticated enough and too confused by the chaos of the revolutionary life-and-death struggle to be aware of their own hidden motivations and the far-reaching implications of their revolutionary enthusiasm. After all, even though 97 ostensibly presents the struggle between "the old order" and "the new order," the "new" element is practically absent in the play. Even those characters who represent the forces of the revolution (e.g., Panko and Kopystka) are completely rooted in the old order. The communards and kulaks share the same narrow-minded mentality and manner of speech. 97 evidently portrays only the first stage in the process of revolutionary struggle: the end of the "old order," and because of that the original ending of the play—the death of all the communards—was symbolically very appropriate.

The unconscious aspirations of Kopystka and his comrades can be understood and explained only in light of the subsequent development of

22. Did you hear what Lenin said? The new world will come when you and I learn arithmetic (*ibid.*, 39).

similar motifs in Kulish's later plays. Already his second play, *Komuna v stepakh* (written in 1925), leaves the reader/audience with a much clearer notion of what the revolutionaries are striving to attain by their struggle. The protagonists of this play are no longer driven by a vague dream of a "new world" and an unarticulated desire to change the existing state of affairs, but see the revolutionary struggle as an individual striving for social justice and personal freedom.

In contrast to 97, which is set during the chaotic transitional period of the revolution, the action of *Komuna v stepakh* takes place after Soviet rule has been firmly established. The kulaks are no longer in open confrontation with the new order, but rather attempt to integrate with it by setting up their own commune. Moreover, Soviet rule is no longer an abstract and mysterious power that the communards cannot grasp, but concrete and tangible as both they and the kulaks come into direct contact with Soviet authorities.

The play's dramatic conflict revolves around the attempts of the kulaks to appropriate the best part of the commune's land in order to start their own farm. In contrast to the mischievous and lawless behaviour exhibited by the characters in 97, the kulaks in *Komuna v stepakh* try to obtain the land by lawful means. In this situation the opposition of the two camps is polemical rather than violent, and they are clearly differentiated as representing "the old" and "the new" orders and philosophies of life.²³ These two "ideologies" are embodied, on the one hand, by Vyshnevyy, the former owner of the commune's land before the revolution, and, on the other, by the communards, particularly Khyma and Lavro. The communards are no longer blindly obedient to incomprehensible principles of Soviet rule. They are well-versed in Communist ideology and are able to provide a clear ideological opposition to the philosophy of the "old order." An exchange of ideological views, which to a large extent composes the thematic content of the play, takes place between Vyshnevyy and Lavro. Vyshnevyy says:

Вже п'ятий рік божий, як я в обході — всі наші степи обійшов, усю Україну. Біля кожної комуни ставав — придивлявсь. І що дужче придивляюся, то дужче вагаюсь, питаюсь. Куди ж схилитися і хто з нас правий? Оце прийшов й до твоєї. Тікають. Яка земля!... Млин! Хати! Повне господарство, повні права було дано — тільки жити комуною. І от вернувсь через три роки — тікають. Казарма, табір — не комуна.... А я? Вигнанець, безправний, вічний мандрівник, я тисячу верстов іду, щоб тільки побачити землю.... Знаю ж, що не вернуть її мені ... а бач — прийшов і тягне впасті на коліна, щоб струсити

23. Kulish's focus on polemical and ideological elements in *Komuna v stepakh* makes this play less dramatic and emotionally powerful than 97.

порох з цієї ось билинки, щоб зазеленіла.... Яка ж це сила, що гонить вас, а мене кличе? І як розсудить вона нас, й на кому кінчить?

Lavro responds:

Я двадцять літ ходив обходом, теж Україну виходив і біля кожного хутірця кулацького спинявся, придивлявся. І що дужче придивлявся, то дужче упевнявся, хто з нас правий. Прийшов і до твого. Дивлюсь, — а вже втекти не можуть, бо пашпорти в хазяїна, пам'ятаєш? Яка земля, який великий світ, здається, а втекти не можна. Ой, каторга, а не життя.... А тепер? Нехай іще один піде чи двоє нестійких ... хай і дощів не буде рік, другий і третій, нехай ще раз, тікаючи, зруйнуєш ти машину у млині — комуну ми збудуємо! Час і життя та діло наше ще тільки починаються.²⁴

The communards do not share Vyshnev's devotion to the land, and many of them escape from the farm. Nonetheless Vyshnev is eventually forced off his former property. In his polemic with Vyshnev, Lavro can provide only one justification for the change in land ownership: it is necessary in order to change the position of the individual in the "new order." In the past Vyshnev's labourers had no chance of escaping from his farm, whereas the communards are free to come and go as they please. This argument and other similar views expressed in the play clarify the play's thematic message—that one of the main incentives in the struggle for the

24. Vyshnev: "This is the fifth year that I've been on the road. I've wandered throughout our steppes and all of Ukraine. I stopped at every commune and watched. And the more closely I look, the more I hesitate and ask myself: where do I belong and which one of us is right? Thus I came to your commune. They are running away. What soil!... [What a] mill! [What] houses! An entire farm; you've been given all the rights—as long as you live as a commune. Here I return after three years, and they are running away. It's an army barrack, a [labour] camp, not a commune.... And what about me? I'm an exile, without rights, an eternal wanderer. I walked a thousand versts only to have a look at my land.... I know, they will never give it back to me ... but, look, I have come and I feel like falling on my knees to shake the dust off this plant so that it might grow greener.... What is this power that makes you run away, but beckons me [to return]? How will it decide between us and who will win in the end?"

Lavro: "I've been on the road for twenty years, I also walked across all of Ukraine and stopped at every kulak farm and watched. And the more I looked, the more convinced I became about who of us is right. I came to your [farm] too. I look and see that they can't escape, because the landowner confiscated their passports, do you remember? What land, how large this world is, it seems, but one can't escape. It was penal labour, not life.... And now? Let another one or two fickle ones run away ... let the rains stop for one, two, or three years, you can destroy the machine in the mill again before running away — we'll build the commune [nonetheless]! Our time, our life, and our task are only beginning" (*ibid.*, 131).

“new order” is an individual’s desire for social justice and personal freedom. This motif is echoed and further stressed in Kulish’s later plays; for example, one of the protagonists in *Otkaz zahynuv Huska* (So Died Huska, 1925), Pierre Kyrpatenko, captures the very essence of the revolution in a metaphor: “freedom for all in a golden ship.”²⁵

The motifs and ideas developed in Kulish’s early plays served as the foundation of his most sophisticated studies of the psychology of Ukrainian revolutionaries in his masterpieces, *Narodnii Malakhii* (The People’s Malakhii, 1927), *Patetychna sonata* (Sonata Pathétique, 1929), and *Vichnyi bunt* (Eternal Rebellion, 1932). These plays’ themes and concepts define the individual’s attitude toward the revolution and, in turn, shed much light on the subject of his earlier works. Kulish’s later plays present the protagonists’ motivations in joining the revolution as inextricably linked with their quasi-religious quests for self-enlightenment and truth. Behind their single-minded strivings one can detect the characteristic features and symbols of the process of individuation described in Jungian psychology.²⁶

In *Narodnii Malakhii* and *Patetychna sonata* the revolution is presented as an external factor that deflects an individual from his daily routine and forces him (through projection) to search his soul. In prerevolutionary days, Malakhii Stakanchyk was a postman in the small town of Vchorashnie²⁷ and a stereotypical provincial townsman. He attended church regularly and sang in the church choir. His leisurely pursuits included fishing with his friend (his child’s godfather), and he led a three-year court battle with his neighbour over a killed chicken. The violent revolutionary events overtaking

25. Kulish, *Tvory*, 1: 211.

26. The religious or quasi-religious nature of the psychological process of individual development (the process of individuation), which in practically all instances is initially projected onto an outer object or event, is discussed by Jung throughout his works. An introductory discussion of the process of individuation may be found in C. G. Jung, ed., *Man and His Symbols* (New York: Laurel, 1968) or C. G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, vol. 7 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972). Jung discusses the Christ-self parallel in *Aion*, in *ibid.*, vol. 9b (1978) and in *Psychology and Alchemy*, in *ibid.*, vol. 12 (1980), which examines in detail the projection of inner psychological processes onto the outside world.

It is possible that Kulish might have been familiar with some aspects of Jungian psychology, the main framework of which was developed in the 1920s. Some of Jung’s works were available at the time in Russian translation (an abridged edition of his *Psychological Types* appeared in Russian as early as 1921). Kulish’s letters to Dniprovsky indicate that in the early 1920s he was reading psychological literature with great interest. See Kulish, *Tvory*, 2: 492.

27. Literally “Yesterday”—an obvious reference to the “old order.”

the country profoundly disturbed Malakhii, causing him to lock himself in a sealed room for two years to meditate and read “Bolshevik books.” When he finally emerges from his voluntary confinement, he is a man “renewed by the revolution.” Explaining to his friend the impact of the revolution on him, he asks: “Скажіть мені, чому я, ти, куме, всі ми до революції думати боялись, а тепер я думаю про все, про все?... Скажи, чому я мріяти боявся, хоч і мануло взяти торбинку, ціпок і пойти, пойти отак в далечінь, — я гнав тії мрії, а тепер ... вільно беру ціпочок в руки, сухарів у торбу і йду.”²⁸

The revolution gives Malakhii the courage to pursue his quest to reform humanity, an idea that has always been his ardent but repressed, desire. It provides him with the context and incentive to give in to his natural inclinations and impulses and to live them out; thus it not only represents for him a dream of a “new life,” but, more importantly, embodies his desire for self-enlightenment, because his quest to reform humanity is, at the same time, a search for his own reformed self.

In *Patetychna sonata* the revolution also relieves people of their usual inhibitions and fears and helps them to act freely. It literally awakens a completely passive town population to a new way of life. Under its influence, the workers of the local factory organize a strike; Maryna and her father, Stupai-Stupanenko, join the Ukrainian national movement for an independent Ukrainian state; and André Perotsky organizes a unit to fight for the Russian Provisional Government and the abolition of tsarism. Most importantly for our discussion, the play’s main protagonist, the poet Ilko, who before the revolution exhibited an overwhelming tendency for introspection and escapism, emerges from his passivity and makes up his mind to deliver his one hundred and thirty-first love letter to Maryna.²⁹ Later he joins the Bolshevik camp and even sees revolutionary action.

The revolutionary struggle in *Patetychna sonata* breaks out on the eve of Easter Sunday. Thus, both in the minds of the characters and of the audience, the revolution becomes associated with the rebirth of society and

28. Tell me: why is it that up to the revolution I, you, *kum*, and all of us were afraid to think, but now I think about everything, [absolutely] everything?... Tell me: why was I afraid to dream, even though I was tempted to pick up a bag and walking stick and go, go far away—I chased away such dreams, but now ... without hesitating I grab my walking stick, put some dry bread in my bag, and go (Kulish, *Tvory*, 2: 20–1).

29. Prior to that, discouraged by his constant self-doubts, Ilko never gathered up enough courage to deliver any of his letters to Maryna, and his dreams of their love were completely illusory.

the spiritual resurrection of individuals.³⁰ The symbolism of Christ's resurrection is also one of the most significant symbols of the process of individuation. Ilko serves as a good example of how the actions of Kulish's protagonists are shaped by the unconscious forces behind their striving for psychological and spiritual growth.

As a poet, a supporter of "universal humanism," and a believer in the "Kingdom of Eternal Love," Ilko sees the revolution as a means of achieving spiritual, not social or materialistic, aspirations. He believes that the ultimate goal of the revolution is to establish a better society through the spiritual maturation (individuation) of its members. Arguing with Luka, a devout believer in the principles of class struggle and social revolution, Ilko exclaims: "над світом положеться в крові прапор боротьби. Для чого? Щоб завтра замаяв над нами прапор вільного труда. Та тільки тоді, як над світом замасе прапор вічної любові.... Тільки тоді, як Петраркою стане той, хто сьогодні б'є жінку, — наступить всесвітня соціальна весна."³¹

Ilko's quest for love, truth, and self-enlightenment (in psychological terms, for individuation) does not allow him to strictly adhere to any ideology. In pursuing his love for Maryna,³² he repeatedly changes sides and even betrays his comrades. To a large extent it is this conflict between Ilko's personal aspirations and the requirements of revolutionary politics that results in the division of his psyche and his ultimate downfall. We saw an analogous, though not as advanced and noticeable, inner division in Kopystka, who was split between his devotion to Soviet doctrine and his inner impulse to imitate Christ.

In contrast to the characters of 97 and *Komuna v stepakh*, Ilko, Malakhii, and Romen (the protagonist of *Vichnyi bunt*) have very specific individual visions of what the goal of the revolutionary struggle should be. But they exhibit a similar, quasi-religious attitude toward the "divine" power of the revolution. Malakhii considers himself a prophet and reformer of humanity

30. A similar symbolic correlation between the feast of Easter and the outbreak of the revolution can be found in a number of Ukrainian literary works of the period, such as, for example, Pavlo Tychyna's poem "Naivyshcha syla" in his collection *Zamist sonetiv i oktav*.

31. Above the world the flag of struggle is being rinsed in blood. What for? So that tomorrow the flag of free labour may fly over us. But this will happen only when the flag of eternal love flies above the world.... Only when he who beats his wife today becomes a Petrarch will the universal social spring arrive (*Tvory*, 2: 180).

32. From the Jungian point of view, Maryna clearly represents an anima figure—a projection of Ilko's unconscious soul.

in the tradition of the Old Testament prophets. He views the “azure distance of socialism” as the ultimate goal of the revolution and compares it to the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelations. Although Ilko is an ardent believer in humanism rather than in a divine principle or being, the essence of his quest for “the universal social spring” can be interpreted as religious in nature. Commenting on Ilko’s failure to achieve his goals, Iurii Sherekh describes the religious character of Ilko’s striving thus: “the tragedy of humanism [in *Patetychna sonata*] in its essence remains a [tragedy of] religious [dimensions], because the struggle for a real human being is, in fact, a struggle for God.”³³ Romen is a practical and pragmatic intellectual who at first glance is concerned solely with the formation of a just and prosperous society. However, his real motivation is associated with his desire to protect his individual independence in face of the pressure from the factory collective. He himself has no problem with recognizing the religious character of his dilemma when he compares his conflict with his environment to the plight of religious heretics.³⁴

The quasi-religious attitude of Kulish’s characters toward the revolution stems from their projection of their personal aspirations and their formerly repressed desires and impulses, which have been liberated by the revolution, on the external social processes around them. Although these desires range from simple, primarily materialistic, aspirations (such as those of the communards in 97) to lofty ideals (such as Ilko’s kingdom of eternal love), they are essentially similar in that they are all a striving for “new life,” a desire to change the existing state of affairs and to transform one’s soul. Also, all of these instances are similar in that they are driven primarily by unconscious forces that are never recognized for what they are. Kulish’s revolutionaries are, in fact, puppets of powerful unconscious forces, which Jungian psychology associates with activated archetypes in the collective psyche and with the emergence of so-called fragmentary autonomous psychic systems, which Jung describes in the following way.

Besides the ordinary, familiar affects there are subtler, more complex emotional states that can no longer be described as affects pure and simple but are fragmentary psychic systems. The more complicated they are, the more they have the character of personalities.... Such fragmentary systems are to be found especially in mental diseases, in cases of psychogenic splitting of the personality (double personality), and ... in mediumistic phenomena. They are also encountered in the phenomenology of religion.... Activated unconscious contents always appear at first as projections upon the outside world, but in the course

33. Sherekh, “Shosta symfoniia Mykoly Kulisha,” 75.

34. Kulish, *Vichnyi bunt*, in *Tvory*, 1: 438.

of mental development they are gradually assimilated by consciousness and reshaped into conscious ideas that then forfeit their originally autonomous and personal character.³⁵

While fragmentary autonomous systems are part of the natural and potentially beneficial mechanism of consolidating and expanding consciousness, non-integrated autonomous systems (most often perceived as manifestations of quasi-religious or supernatural agents) can exert an extremely powerful destructive influence on individual minds and the collective psyche. Such influence can be seen in the actions and psychological development of the protagonists of Kulish's plays, most of whom attempt to come to terms with their new spiritual reality by creating (or surrendering to) a "new religion" that promises to fill the vacuum left after their denunciation of Christianity.³⁶ Jung's remarks devoted to the essence of this problem (written, incidentally, in the late 1920s, that is, at the time when Kulish was entering the most productive period of his creative work) not only shed light on the behaviour and fates of the protagonists of Kulish's plays, but also provide the context for a deeper understanding of the dynamics of revolutionary processes.

The reason why our time has become so utterly godless and profane [is that] we lack all knowledge of the unconscious psyche and pursue the cult of consciousness to the exclusion of all else. Our true religion is a monotheism of consciousness, a possession by it, coupled with a fanatical denial of the existence of fragmentary autonomous systems.... Our time has committed a fatal error: we believe we can criticize the facts of religion intellectually.... We completely forgot that the reason mankind believes in the "daemon" has nothing whatever to do with external factors, but is simply due to a naive awareness of the tremendous inner effect of autonomous fragmentary systems.... If we deny the existence of the autonomous systems, imagining that we have got rid of them by a mere critique of the name, then the effect which they still continue to exert can no longer be understood, nor can they be assimilated into consciousness. They become an inexplicable source of disturbance which we finally assume must exist somewhere outside ourselves. The resultant projection creates a dangerous situation in that the disturbing effects are now attributed to a wicked will outside ourselves, which is naturally not to be found anywhere but with our neighbour *de l' autre côté de la rivière*. This leads to collective delusions, "incidents," revolutions, war—in a word, to destructive mass psychoses.... We

35. C. G. Jung, "Commentary on *The Secret of the Golden Flower*," in his *Alchemical Studies*, in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 13: 35.

36. This is the fundamental reason why in such plays as 97 the revolutionary conflict is not between the new socialist order and the old imperial order, but between the quasi-religious Soviet power and the power of the church.

are still as much possessed by autonomous psychic contents as if they were Olympians. Today they are called phobias, obsessions, and so forth; in a word neurotic symptoms. The gods have become diseases.... Instead of allowing himself to be convinced once more that the daemon is an illusion, [Western man] ought to experience once more the reality of this illusion.... The personification enables us to see the relative reality of the autonomous system, and not only makes its assimilation possible but also depotentiates the daemonic forces of life. When the god is not acknowledged, egomania develops, and out of this mania comes sickness.³⁷

All of Kulish's revolutionaries believe that by renouncing the "old gods" they become free of them. But they become more possessed by "new daemons," all the while failing to perceive them. It is no mere coincidence that two of Kulish's most important characters, Malakhii and Ilko, undergo a monumental inflation of their egos and end up with some kind of mental disease—in Ilko's case a dual personality. Thus, the fact that each individual vision of a "new life" in Kulish's plays is shattered by the reality of post-revolutionary Soviet society is not only due to political reasons, which, as a result of mass psychosis (depicted in *Vichnyi bunt*), transform the "state of workers and peasants" into one of the most oppressive and dictatorial states in history, but seems first and foremost to be a result of an innate psychological flaw shared by those who fight for a "new life." This flaw, according to Jung's remarks, is not peculiar to individuals in Ukraine or Russia at the time of the revolution, but is inherent in the psychology of modern Western man, who, having lost touch with the irrational forces of reality, has developed a warped, egocentric, and overly rationalized attitude towards life. Seen from this perspective, both Kulish's mature masterpieces and his "naïve"³⁸ early dramas go far beyond the narrow local context of the revolutionary period in Ukraine to which they have been so often confined by literary critics. They address universal issues that are particularly pertinent to the intellectual and spiritual history of twentieth-century Western civilization.

37. Ibid, 36–8.

38. Sherekh, "Shosta symfoniia Mykoly Kulisha," 80.

Антонич: Серцевина екзотики

Юрій Андрухович

Як тільки починаємо згадувати Богдана-Ігоря Антонича (1909–37), з неминучістю відчуваємо владне і захопливе вторгнення таємниці, загадки, містерії. Проживши менше, ніж двадцять вісім років, поет відійшов до *крашого зі світів*, лишивши нам чимало запитань, або — так, здається, точніше — насиченого заледве чи не субтропічними випарами простору для припущень і домислів. Українське літературознавство відносно мало уваги приділило проблемі Антонича й інакшості чи, скажімо, Антонича як «інакшого», сконцентрувавши зусилля якраз на протилежному. Нижче я спробую розкрити цю інакшість хоча б частково, обмеживши її поняттям екзотичного і довести присутність у цьому екзотичному Антонича.

Під “екзотичним” у най ширшому значенні розуміємо все, що різко виходить за межі узвичаєнного, звичного і знаного (від лат. *exeo* — виходити, виступати). Починаючи з епохи великих географічних відкриттів і подальшого колоніяльного підкорення світу європейською людиною, поняття “екзотичного”, “екзотики” набуло дещо вужчого і конкретнішого значення: як сукупність най яскравіших та найдивовижніших реалій, що з ними західна людина зіштовхнулася в далеких чужинних світах. Заморські пейзажі, рослинне і тваринне розмаїття, чудернацька зовнішність інших рас, народів, племен, їхні мови, вірування, звичаї, поведінка — усе це (й не тільки це) підпадало під означення “екзотичного”.

Зрозуміло, що для митців модерністського кшталту з їхнім принциповим неприйняттям навколошньої “сірої” дійсності, гостро критичним наставленням до буржуазних і цивілізаційних вартостей, а також естетичним надзваданням — творенням ще однієї, мистецької дійсності, яскравої та химерної, потяг до екзотики виявився

однією з найхарактерніших і найстійкіших ознак. Цей потяг узасаднений вже Бодлером, що в нього, серед інших естетичних максим, читаємо: “Краса — завжди химерна. Я не стверджую, що вона свідомо, холодно химерна.... Я маю на увазі, що їй завжди притаманно трохи дивовижного, наївного, ненавмисного, несвідомого і що це дивовижне надає їй вигляду Краси; це її ознака, її характеристистика”.¹ Екзотизм як одна з визначальних творчих ознак митців модерністської епохи виявляв себе на цілком різних рівнях — від поверхових захоплень орієнタルною містикою, окультичними таємницями Сходу і до глибинного вивчення Упанішад, тибетської Книги мертвих або Корану; від романтичного ідеалу вічної подорожі й до крайньої екстравагантності в одязі та звичках (бодлерівський опій).

Спробую тут пунктирно окреслити деякі прояви екзотизму безпосередньо в творчості видатних модерністів. Почнемо від того ж Бодлера, “альбатроса поезії”, співця екзотичних ароматів і подорожей у незнане, “закоханого в мапи та естампи”:

Так, відкриває світ мені твій запах, мила,
Я бачу гавані в блакиті осяйній,
Де стомлені від хвиль хитаються вітрила.

Незнаний аромат пливе в душі моїй,
До співу моряків домішується в ній,
Де тамариндових дерев буяють крила.²

Автор славнозвісного “П’яногого корабля” Рембо не лише продовжив цю химерну лінію в поезії, але й власним життям довів її небезпідставність, покинувши Європу і перемандрувавши на африканський континент у пошуках нової реальності. Інший великий мандрівник модернізму — художник Поль Гоген, який щойно на островах Таїті знайшов себе і можливу відповідь на вічні запитання “хто ми такі, звідки ми і куди йдемо?”. Невипадковим у цьому сенсі є звертання Ніцше до образу праіранського пророка Заратустри. Творчі індивідуальності Рудольфда Кіплінга та Джозефа Конрада породили цілий сплеск т.зв. “екзотичної культури” у Великобританії.

1. Цит. за І. Карабутенко, «Лабіrint бодлерівської естетики», в кн. *Шарл Бодлер: Поезії* (Київ: Дніпро, 1989), стор. 255.

2. «Екзотичні аромати», переклад Дмитра Павличка в його ж кн. *Світовий сонет* (Київ: Дніпро, 1983), стор. 113.

Цілком особливий різновид символістської екзотики явив видатний іbero-американський поет Рубен Даріо, творчість якого є химерним переплетінням античних, середньовічних і тубільних (індіянських та афро-американських) мотивів.

Величезне значення в утвердженні культур колоніяльних народів і племен у цивілізованому світі мали концепції Фройда, Юнга, Тейяр де Шардена, маніфести і творчі осягнення фовістів (мароканські мотиви Анрі Матісса), згодом кубістів. Найголоснішою сенсацією європейського художнього життя стали виставки «примітивного» африканського мистецтва, організовані в Парижі Паблом Пікассо і Жоржом Браком.

Двадцяті роки приносять новий спалах зацікавлень і проникнень у саму серцевину далеких чужих світів. У німецькій літературі ці явища представлені перш усього поезією та прозою Германа Гессе (зокрема, «Сіддгартга»), а також «оceanічними» мотивами експресіоніста Готфріда Бенна («Острів Палау»). У французькій — неперевершенні зразки доглибного переживання екзотичних ландшафтів знаходимо в поемах Сен-Жон Перса або в ритмізованій прозі Блеза Сандрара. В англо-американській — постійно присутній у поезії Езри Паунда китайсько-конфуціанський струмінь. Дослідниця польської літератури міжвоєнної доби М. Вика пише про подібні явища у своїй статті з доволі промовистою назвою “Проект двадцятиліття” (мається на увазі двадцятиліття міжвоєнне, 1920-і і 1930-і роки):

як противага “старій Європі” народжується ідея подорожі за межі її функціонування. Мітології Орієнту повертаються у змінених іпостасях, бо європейський дух є також духом колоніяльним. Забуті нині романі Форстера (які того часу вважалися першорядними — хоч би “Подорож до Індії”), перші книги Мальро, звичайно ж Конрад, але так само східні поезії Балінського і Слонімського — ось перший-ліпший приклад. Європейський митець є будівничим утопії.”³

Українська література пореволюційного часу не залишилась осторонь цих “утопій”. Микола Ільницький, згадуючи у цьому зв’язку імена Юрія Яновського та Олекси Влизька, відзначає очевидний вплив західноєвропейської літератури, зокрема літератури мариністичної.⁴ Однак, мабуть, не “впливологія” (за висловом Вики) є найсуттєвішим чинником для подібних досліджень. Йдеться

3. M. Wyka, «Projekt dwudziestolecia», *Kresy*, 1995, ч. 3, стор. 51.

4. Микола Ільницький, *Богдан-Ігор Антонич: Нарис життя і творчості* (Київ: Радянський письменник, 1991), стор. 35.

не так про “впливи”, як про спорідненість талантів, поетичних ідей, характерів і темпераментів, про неперервність духу і дихання, про особливий — знову вдамося до образу Вики — “європейський культурний розчин”, до якого, безумовно, причетна і новітня українська література у своїх найвищих проявах.

Розглядаючи екзотизм як одну з характеристик образного мислення і письма Антонича, крім уже згадуваних Ільницьким авторів, варто назвати і Василя Бобинського — причому перш усього у зв’язку з його перекладом “П’яного корабля”, 1929 р. надрукованим у львівському часописі “Вікна”. Лексична розкіш українського “П’яного корабля” не могла не захопити двадцятилітнього поета-початківця, яким був Антонич:

І ледняки й сонця небес, як вугіль, чорних
І заливи гидкі, як велетні вужі,
Повзуть по конарах скарлючених, потворних,
Обліплені кишмом смердючої нужі.

Я рад би показати у синій хвилі дітям
Ці зграї золотих і тих співучих риб.
На від’їзд мій моря косичилися квіттям,
І крил мені давав вітрів поривний стриб.⁵

Цей “чорний вугіль” і ці “співучі риби”, і це “квіття” з наведеного уривка інтерпретованого Бобинським “П’яного корабля” виникатиме неодноразово у пізнішого Антонича, набуваючи інших, уже суто антоничівських, поетичних властивостей. Але як основа основ, як перші підвалини для майбутнього ословлення світу, ці та інші образи-лексеми походять і виростають саме з мовних осягів найближчих Антоничевих попередників.

Вже у “Привітанні життя” ліричний суб’єкт Антонича здійснює свої перші морські подорожі. Тут, мабуть, доречно згадати про ще один чинник “впливу” — і не стільки літературно-естетичний, скільки соціальний: величезну кількість друкованих зошитів із безконечними пригодницькими серіями, своєрідний прояв тогочасної масової культури, що ними Антонич, як і безліч його ровесників, мусив зачитуватися в дитинстві, — про безстрашних шукачів золота і кровожерні “ватаги с’юксів”, свідчення чого знаходимо в

5. «П’яний корабель, переклад», *Жовтень*, 1988, но. 3, стор. 11.

рядках найбільш автобіографічної з усього написаного поетом “Зеленої елегії”:

Хлопець похилений в захваті, німо над книжкою Мая
мріяв про безкрай землі, про невідкриті світи.⁶

Згаданий тут Карл Май є одним з найвідоміших авторів розважально-пригодницької літератури для підлітків та юнацтва, творцем популярних “екзотичних” романів.

У “Привітанні життя” стихія мандрів та заморських див відтворена ще доволі традиційно: в настрої романтичної піднесеності й деякої таємничості, як це видно, приміром, на прикладі першого катрена в сонеті “Романтизм”:

Над морем в хмарах марить чорна галич,
ліричний місяць потопає в тінь.
І дики скелі й синя далечінь.
Пливуть похмурі Байрона ушкали.⁷

Або, переспівуючи з англійської “Пісню мандрівника” Джона Мейсфілда, Антонич по-юнацьки рвійно і нетерпляче виголошує хвалу вітрам, неспокоєві та невтримності:

Шумить у серці вітер, кров огонь бурлить.
Ох допекла вже бруків, мурів, цегли гидъ!
На берег моря туга, в край землі жене,
де океан манить піснями хвиль мене.⁸

Приблизно той самий, всепереможний настрій подорожі, вільного руху і безмежного відкривання світу, тільки вже піднесений автором до рівня відкривання сuto мистецького, творчого, домінует і в мелодійному диптиху “Пісня бадьорих бродяг”:

Упитись далі подихом так мило,
геть суми, думи кинути старі!
Вітрами поле душі нам обмило,
а пісню підказали комарі.
Складаєм дні в яскравих айстрів клюмби,

6. Богдан Ігор Антонич, «Зелена елегія», у його *Зібраних творах*, за ред. Святослава Гординського і Богдана Рубчака (Нью-Йорк і Вінніпег: Організація Оборони Лемківщини в Америці, 1967), стор. 62.

7. «Романтизм», там же, стор. 45.

8. «Пісня мандрівника», там же, стор. 44.

нових америк щастя ми колюмби.⁹

“Самітний острів” невідкритих творчих таємниць виринає з уяви поета в сонеті “Ідеал”:

На острові, так каже казка,
теменні скарби десь лежать закляті.
Горячі моряцькі очі у завзятті,
жага бушує в душах буйно й баско.¹⁰

Захоплення англійською неоромантичною поезією, надто її мореплавськими сюжетами, найвідчутніше відбилося в Антоничевій “Баладі про тінь капітана”. Тут оживає пряно-небезпечний, ледь підсвічений блідим ореолом казковості й містики світ портових таверн, де грають у карти на смерть із самим дияволом, де пахне джином і ножами, де купують дівчат і продають власну тінь під акомпанемент хрипких саксофонів і п'яного матроського реготу. Торкнувшись бодай поверхні у великій і, мабуть, вічній темі подорожей з її кораблями-привидами, заклятими островами, “південними морями із містами, де пагоди”, північними скелями “у школі вітрів та тайфунів”, Антонич прищепив на дереві рідної поезії екзотичну чужинську павіль, яка в пізнішій його творчості ще не раз спалахне несамовитими й насиченими барвами.

Чудовим доповненням до цих ранніх мандрівних мотивів може служити дворядковий вірш “*Terra incognita*”, написаний 1932 р.:

Сідаймо в човен. Поїдемо в подорож довкола наших
сердець. Може, відкриємо нову, незнану землю.¹¹

Дешо інший характер в Антоничевій першій збірці має сонетоїд “Гіпнотизер”, який узагалі здається мені одним із найвдаліших віршів того раннього періоду. Тут ідеться вже не про мандри, а про таємничого приблуду, ілюзіоніста, що вривається в усталений буденний світ зі своєю моторошною виставою:

В молочнім світлі матових кінкетів
цвітуть на чорнім шовку ордері.
Вогонь в очах холодних загорів,
в судорогах пальці, наче б грав на флейті.

9. «Пісня бадьорих бродяг», там же, стор. 56.

10. «Ідеал», там же, стор. 47.

11. «*Terra incognita*», там же, стор. 202.

Круг нас паде зелено-жовта мряка,
різнув у вухо свист слизький, мов різки.
Тоді виймав із наших чіл він мізки
й в кишені їх вкладав своєго фрака.¹²

І далі — як натяк на можливе орієнタルне походження цього всевладного мага:

На наші очі, мов рясні каскади,
лились струмками бомбаї й багдади.¹³

“Бомбаї й багдади”, крім усього іншого, це сконденсовані образи Сходу з його дивовижами. Автор, ніби покладаючись на свого сприйнятливого читача, дає йому лише ці, напрочуд місткі, образи-ключі. Решту (всередині цих образів — наприклад, спеку, водограї, химерні рослини, кам’яні та глиняні будівлі, людей у строкатому одязі, верблюдів і слонів, а також барвистих птахів) повинна домалювати читацька уява.

Однак по-справжньому Антоничів екзотизм розкривається щойно починаючи з “Книги Лева”, на сторінках якої наче б утілюється відкриття “нових, незнаних земель” (і вод, додамо), проголошене автором у “*Terra incognita*”. Зрештою, недостатність юначо-романтичного підходу до мандрівних мотивів, що перетворився на літературну моду й відтак банальність, Антонич непрямо покритикував у свого часу, щоправда, неопублікованій статті “Література безробітної інтелігенції”:

На наших західних землях, в країні, далекій від моря, найпопулярніший сьогодні в поезії мотив: життя моряків.... [В] нас моряцькі поезії пише тепер добрий десяток поетів, що з них більшість, може, й корабля не бачила. Зустрічаемо тут речі досконалі, зустрічаемо слабші, але в загальному моряцькі поезія прибрала масовий характер.¹⁴

Антонич усвідомив, що залишатися в колі вже відпрацьованих “моряцьких” стратегій означає зупинитися в розвитку, уподібнитися безіменному “доброму десяткові поетів”, стати одним з них. Так почалася та величезна внутрішня робота над своїм талантом, наслідки якої повною мірою виявляються щойно у “Книзі Лева”.

12. «Гіпнотизер», там же, стор. 50.

13. Там же.

14. Богдан-Ігор Антонич, «Література безробітної інтелігенції», *Сучасність*, 1992, ч. 9, стор. 79.

Екзотичне виступає для Антонича тим креативним простором, в якому можна розмістити цілий світ — з найточнішими деталями краєвиду. Ось, наприклад, створіння *пустині*, причому не тільки як певної географічної зони, віддаленої від звичного для нас природного ландшафту, але й пустині як певного історико-культурного тексту:

Умерлих квітів царство — спить пустиня
в піску сорочці золото-червоній.

Малюк осот — рослинне чортовиння,
екстаза сонця й блискавок погоні.

Живі свічки понад землі труною,
шорсткий бур'ян нараз кущем горючим.
Немов кущі розхилені рукою
розхилляться бездонні віри кручи.¹⁵

Усі деталі цієї картини — і “золото-червона сорочка піску”, і “екстаза сонця”, і присутність у кадрі почварного осоту, як і той, зрештою, доведений науковою факт, що теперішня пустиня це дійсно колишнє “квітів царство”, а на додаток пряма біблійна алузія (“кущ горючий”) створюють надзвичайну смислову ущільненість і повну художню достовірність цього креативного простору, в який втікає поетова уява в пошуках бажаної “другої дійсності”.

Як певне рухливе і пластичне середовище в усій своїй позірній однomanітності, що насправді є кольоровістю, постає перед нами пустиня і у вірші “Даниїл у ямі левів”:

Пропахчене, духотне чорне золото ночей пустині,
просвітлене пурпурою, розбарвлене у сіль мозаїк.
Це підшивка червона під кожухом ночі. Морок синій
на піч землі навбач погаслу, хоч іще жарку, сідає.

Готуються до льоту надми піскові, мов хмари птаства,
що сіло на спочинок і ось-ось відліне в безмір вільний.¹⁶

У вірші “Піски” маємо перед мисленим зором не лише “мідне озеро пустині” й “лілеї зір сходячих”, але й цілий ряд свідчень

15. “Знак Лева”, у його *Зібраних творах*, стор. 100.

16. «Даниїл у ямі левів», там же, стор. 100–1.

рідкісного пустельного біосу: скорпіони, шакали, іхневмони. Останні, як довідуємося зі спеціального словника, є “фараонові щурі, хижі ссавці, що з’їдали яйця крокодилів і за те були шановані у часах панування єгипетських фараонів”.¹⁷ Маємо в цьому вірші й напрочуд динамічні майстерні картини того, як

Піски плащем червоним на пустелі лоні
зірвалися до льоту, впали і завмерли.

або як

Пустиня, мов левиця, у півні й пів’яві
грудьми ста бур зітхає й попіл червонавий,
мов хмари з сірки й крейди, вдихує просохла.¹⁸

Вірш “Піски” закінчується образом (“Це будяться міста прадавні під пісками”), що може послужити містком для ще однієї екзотичної сфери в Антонича — сфери *первісних культур*. Це вже згадуваний нами у попередньому розділі світ руїн, “цвінтар золотих монархій” (“Зорелев, або сузір’я Лева”) чи уявні екскурси в товщі праць пам’яті, своєрідна реставрація архетипів:

Танцюють татуйовані дівчата на майдані мрії,
пісок палючий під стопою, мов смола червона, тане
і я з-перед ста сотень літ різьблю на бубні сонця танець,
лопочуть два кийки, мов крила птахи, що з похмілля мліє.¹⁹

Ця сфера найчастіше пов’язується в поетичних асоціаціях із світом підземним, світом надр і безодень. У фіналі “Хороводу” бачимо, як

маєстатично сходять буйволи червоні на підземні
левади, де засяє їм умерле сонце — диск з ебену.²⁰

В “Апокаліпсисі” читаємо про “підземних рік слизьке, примарне зілля” (образ, який згодом майже повториться у “Сурмах останнього дня”; цікаво й те, що аналогічний паралелізм маємо і при зіставленні

17. Богдан Ігор Антонич, *Перстені молодості: До тридцятиліття від смерті поета (1909–1937)*, упор. М. Неверлі (Пряшів: Словацьке пед. вид-во в Братіславі і Відділ української літератури в Пряшеві, 1966), стор. 364.

18. «Піски», у його *Зібраних творах*, стор. 119.

19. «Хоровід», там же, стор. 120.

20. Там же.

ні “Пісні про незнищенність матерії” з “Мертвими автами” — як у першому, так і в другому випадку поет уявляє собі майбутню “після-потопну” землю вкриту всілякою екзотичною рослинністю, насамперед пальмами), а в “Затертих слідах” знаходимо образне узагальнення цього руху вглиб, у незнану товщу пракультур: “Одне на одному шарами сплять століття”. Антонич провадить свої подорожі не лише в просторі, але і в часі.

Наступною сферою Антоничевої екзотики є океан. Сам Антонич дає достатньо вичерпне тлумачення цього феномену власної творчості, коли пояснює “незрозумілість” деяких своїх образів у статті “Як розуміти поезію”: “Поет, намагаючись сягнути до дна, до самого кореня, до ядра, углиб природи, зустрічає воду, море (море саме в собі), як правічну царину природи”.²¹ Безумовно, у світлі розмови про Антоничів екзотизм не зайво придивитися до густої образної тканини одного з найпоказовіших у цьому сенсі віршів — “Балляда про пророка Йону” з її дивовижною матеріяльною насиленістю:

Чи знаєш тьмяне царство — світ мільйона див,
зелено-чорну батьківщину восьминогів?
Бо навіть сон таких не дасть нам образів,
як ніч в правічному пожарі дна морського.

Хто викохав потворну постать цих істот?
Природи жарт жорстокий, марнотратний безум?
Б’ють глухо риби-молоти у штолльні вод
і риби-пили крають водне сонце лезом.²²

Коли читаєш ці рядки, в уяві мимоволі постають старовинні морські мапи, де з глибин і хвиль океанських просторів виринають потворні й химерні створіння, жахливі монстри і покручі, ехидни, дракони та “морські єпископи” — увесь той водяний бестіярій, що стане прологом не лише для найвидатніших фантазмів сюрреалістичного малярства, але й для запатентованої згодом у Голлівуді кінопродукції жахів.

Океан Антонича — це наче відгук на міркування художника Дж. де Кіріко про те, що “картина мусить бути завжди відображенням

21. Богдан-Ігор Антонич, «Як розуміти поезію», *Сучасність*, 1992, ч. 9, стор. 78.

22. «Балляда про пророка Йону», у *Зібраних творах* Антонича, стор. 102.

глибокого відчуття” і що “глибоке означає дивне, а дивне означає невідоме й незнане. Для того, щоби твір мистецтва був безсмертним, необхідно, аби він вийшов за межі людського”.²³

Океан Антонича заселений “рибогадами-іхтіозаврами”, “молюсками”, “фіялками моря — губками”, морськими левами, акулами, дельфінами, окунями, поліпами, стоногами, але поруч, а точніше над цим біологічним різнобарвним місивом пересуваються “мореплавців білі душі”,²⁴ “полярні янголи”, “душі мамутів”,²⁵ зодіякальні звірі та “комети, що цвітуть хвостами, наче паві”.²⁶ Таким чином ірреальна дійсність поетичного світу виявляється значно багатшою і складнішою від реальної.

Цілком окремими в Антоничевому доробку є екзотичні вірші, присвячені далеким країнам, що, до того ж, показані крізь призму війни. У “Слові про чорний полк” африканський пейзаж поданий очима “ебенового вождя з сережкою зорі у вусі”, а тому ворожі літаки постають як

Дракони, що бензину п’ють, на птахів схожі і на носорогів,
дракони, що плюють змійну сlinу — оліво й вогонь зернис-
тий,²⁷

міни вибухають “тюльпанами надр підземних” і “кущами вогненними”, а “гармати розкладають віяла димів”.

У “Слові про Альказар” перед нами розгортається схожа панорама — з “трокіндами пострілів”, “тюльпанами тисячі експльозій”, “квітами, зрослими з динаміту” й “короною з картечів”. Необхідність відтворити еспанський ландшафт змушує автора вдаватися до прямої географічної конкретики:

Толедо на сімох узгір’ях, на червоній кручі Тахо,
це місто до хреста пустелі цвяхами ста башт прибите.
Земля — червона бляха, місяць в обрій вгруз найгрубшим цвя-
хом,
пустиня, мати вітру, від людей бере за проїзд мито.

23. Н. Я. Малахов, *Модернизм: Критический очерк* (Москва: Искусство, 1986), стор. 149.

24. «Океанія», у *Зібраних творах* Антонича, стор. 121, р. 11.

25. «Полярня», там же, pp. 3, 12.

26. «Арктика», там же, стор. 122, р. 1.

27. «Слово про чорний полк», там же, стор. 130, pp. 23–4.

В мереживі крутих провулків горде місто ювелірень,

[...]

Хащі димів, багаття буре, сірі й бронзові дібрости,

трава колюча, — ворса на кожухах скель слизька від крові.²⁸

Таке проникнення в саму суть інших, далеких, незнаних світів, таке гостре бачення того, що фізично побаченим бути не могло (згадаймо хоча б те, що в Антоничеві часи ще не було телевізії, а кінематограф давав велими приблизне уявлення про те, як насправді виглядає світ) є, безперечно, цілком унікальним для української поезії (і чи тільки для неї?) явищем. Загострене відчуття і переживання всього надзвичайного, а також могутня сила уяви — ось можливі пояснення рафінованого у деталях і величного у своїй цілості Антоничевого візіонерства. Вдаючись до образів екзотичних, Антонич перш усього шукає адекватних своїм творчим питаням — прорив до нового й незнаного — рішень. Здається, при цьому він наче вказує нам на можливість іншого буття, виконуючи одвічну місію поета. Його екзотизм при цьому цілком виразно засвідчує здатність до *візіонерства*, до своєрідного “ясновидіння” та осяянь. Відкриття “нових американських” в українській поезії, розширення її образно-тематичних обріїв за межі усталеного і звичного — ще один важливий аспект її осучаснення Антоничем.

28. «Слово про Альказар», там же, стор. 132, pp. 15–19, 22–3.

The Poetics of Liminality: Bohdan Ihor Antonych in the Context of Interwar Polish Literature

Lidia Stefanowska

Bohdan Ihor Antonych was born on 9 October 1909 in the Lemko village of Novytsia (Polish: Nowica) in Gorlice county, Galicia. His father was a Uniate Catholic priest. Antonych's mother tongue and the one that he and other family members spoke at home was Lemko, the westernmost Ukrainian dialect, which is quite distinct from standard Ukrainian. He did not learn to speak the latter until he was a teenager. Antonych's formal education at the gymnasium he attended in Sanok and, from the age of eighteen, in the humanities at Lviv University, from which he graduated with the degree of master of philosophy in 1934, was conducted exclusively in Polish. While living and studying in Lviv, he was exposed not only to the Polish and Ukrainian cultures, but also to the Jewish, German, and other minority cultures of that city. The first two cultures, however, had a determining influence on him.

Antonych was not the first Ukrainian writer to function in more than one linguistic milieu.¹ Although he never wrote poetry in Polish, he drew upon his bicultural heritage to introduce new aesthetic ideas into Ukrainian literature. To understand the nature of his new poetic diction, one must appreciate the complicated interaction of his Lemko origins, his formal

1. For example, Olha Kobylanska was educated in German-language schools in her native Bukovyna and wrote her first literary efforts in German. She also introduced the ideas of some German writers, including Nietzsche, into Ukrainian literature. In Russian-ruled Ukraine before the First World War, the Neoclassicist poets Mykola Zerov and Mykhailo Drai-Khmara wrote poems in both Ukrainian and Russian before switching to writing solely in Ukrainian.

Polish education, and his relatively late literary mastery of standard Ukrainian.

In the context of interwar Western Ukrainian literature, Antonych's poetry had a different ring from the very outset. While most of his contemporaries were preoccupied primarily with political and social issues, he was interested in metaphysical, philosophical, and meta-poetic questions. His first collection of poetry, *Pryvitannia zhyttia* (Greetings to Life, 1931), had a beginner's bookish air, but it surprised readers with its many new themes, including those of sports and of the unconscious. The critics warmly welcomed the young poet, but they failed to appreciate the innovative nature of his poetry. In general, they praised Antonych for his pastoral depiction of nature, which was familiar to the Ukrainian reader, and deemed him a "poet of the soil," to quote Levhen Malaniuk. This led to the misinterpretation of Antonych's later works, for example, of his depiction of urban loci in catastrophic terms. Malaniuk asserted that the gloomy imagery of the urban poetry in Antonych's 1938 collection *Rotatsii* (Rotations) arose from his "complex of a former peasant":

If, despite its unexpectedness, *Zelena ievanheliia* [The Green Gospel] will not surprise those who knew and sensed Antonych's poetry, *Rotatsii* will surprise them, not so much by the sum of its devices and by its style as by its themes. That is because it is a collection (more exactly, a cycle) of Antonych's verses devoted to a theme that is provocative and risky for a poet of the soil (of nature, the plant world, the tilled field, and the village)—to the theme of the city. And, clearly, [as] an evangelist of nature, vegetative-elemental Antonych ("Antonych grows and the grass grows") does not accept the city. He sees it as "a den of contempt and rabble," as the negation of nature and the elements. In our literature, except for [Mykhail] Semenkol's poetry] and [Valerian] Pidmohylny's [novel] *Misto*, this attitude to the city is *eine alte Geschichte*. Antonych would not be the son of the Lemko village were he to treat the city differently.²

Malaniuk's assessment established the traditional image of Antonych as a poet of nature for whom the urban theme is alien and artificial. Some fifty years later Malaniuk's words were echoed by Mykola Ilnytsky: "If one nevertheless seeks some dominant feature that would unify the thematic diversity and emotional variety of Antonych's first collection, would it not be most fruitful to look for it in the psychological state of the author himself—in yesterday's yokel, who came down from the hills into the bustling cities?"³

2. Levhen Malaniuk, "B. I. Antonych: 'Zelena ievanheliia' i 'Rotatsii,'" in his *Knyha sposterezhen: Proza*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Homin Ukrainy, 1966), 433–4.

3. Mykola Ilnytsky, *Bohdan-Ihor Antonych: Narys zhyttia i tvorchosti* (Kyiv: Radianskyi pysmennyk, 1991), 43. My emphasis.

It is true that in Antonych's time the urban theme was still quite fresh in Ukrainian literature. This is perhaps the main reason why Ukrainian critics attributed any negative depiction of urban life to a peasant's typical rejection of and aversion to life in the harsh and alien city. But this interpretation does not quite fit Antonych. It ignores the fact that he spent most of his childhood and youth in urban or semi-urban environments and that his family background was not rural.⁴ More importantly, even if one views Antonych as a newly resettled bumpkin, this does not address the fundamental issue of his "otherness" in Ukrainian literature. This, as well as the urban themes in his poetry and the vision of catastrophe in his mature works, cannot be properly understood in an exclusively Ukrainian context.

I contend that Antonych's early works do not reflect a peasant mentality, but rather his formal education in Polish and his exposure to Polish culture, in which the urban theme was by no means new. He should be compared not with Pidmohylny, but with the Polish poets Czesław Miłosz and Józef Czechowicz, whose catastrophic modes of expression reflected the atmosphere of crisis and existential anxiety that prevailed in Europe during the 1930s. Antonych's distinctive contribution to Ukrainian literature, I would argue, stems from his liminal cultural position.

Antonych's manuscripts make it clear that he closely followed Polish literary events and publications.⁵ Moreover, throughout his life he was active in Polish literary circles, contributing articles to the Polish literary magazines *Sygnaty*, *Wiadomości Literackie*, *Skamander*, and *Chwila*. In addition, he was

4. Antonych's maternal grandfather was a chemistry professor at Lviv University. In 1914, when Antonych was five years old, his father, who had studied theology in Lviv and Przemyśl, moved the entire family from Novytsia to Vienna. Five years later the family resettled in the town of Medzilaborce in the Prešov region in eastern Slovakia, and a year later they returned to Galicia, where Antonych began attending gymnasium in Sanok at the age of eleven.

5. The manuscripts have been preserved at the Stefanyk Scientific Library in Lviv. They are arranged in boxes (Ant.) and folders (P) within each box. From the manuscript in Ant. 71, P yyy (17 pp., two of them blank) we learn that he regularly read the literary magazines *Skamander* and *Wiadomości Literackie*. The same folder contains a list of a hundred Polish writers, including Miłosz, Bolesław Leśmian, Jan Lechoń, Cyprian Norwid, Tadeusz Peiper, Julian Przyboś, Antoni Słoniński, Julian Tuwim, and Kazimierz Wierzyński; a list of Polish translations of works by Blok, Gide, Goethe, Shakespeare, Rimbaud, Baudelaire, Nietzsche, and Whitman; and a list of Ukrainian writers that, surprisingly, contains only twenty-six names, among them Pavlo Tychyna, Mykola Bazhan, and Heo Shkurupii. Antonych also read Polish books on non-literary topics. Pages 255–7 contain his notes on Józef Premik's article on Tertiary reptiles in the 7 September 1934 issue of *Kuryer Literacko-Naukowy*.

a friend of the Polish poet and journalist Tadeusz Hollender, and he served as the primary advisor on the anthology of contemporary Ukrainian poetry that Hollender had translated and was planning to publish.

Antonych's involvement in Polish culture necessitates a closer rereading of his literary output. We must examine not only the influence of European modernism on him, but especially the impact of Polish literature on his poetic subjects and his grammar, lexicon, and style and Antonych's place between two literary traditions.⁶ We must ask to what extent he re-articulated the artistic principles he found in the works of his favourite Polish contemporaries, such as the Skamander group of poets (especially Tuwim and Wierzyński) and the poets of the Cracow Avant-garde (mainly Peiper and Przybóś).

It should be emphasized that when Antonych began writing poetry, his command of literary Ukrainian was still incomplete. Scholars have mostly ignored this fact. I contend, however, that this is a crucial issue. Antonych's early poems clearly reveal how he had to struggle to write in Ukrainian. His first collection, *Pryvitannia zhyttia*, contains errors in accent and declension and a "Polonized" lexicon—"грудима" instead of the proper instrumental form "грудьми" (29: 13), the Polonism "шпада" instead of "шпага" (31: 6), the incorrectly stressed adjective "південних" (33:16), and many other examples—show that he had not yet mastered literary Ukrainian.⁷ The

6. Many scholars have already discussed the impact of European modernism on Antonych. A recent example is the dissertation by the prominent Ukrainian writer Iurii Andrukhovych, "Bohdan Ihor Antonych i literaturno-estetychni kontseptsii modernizmu" (Prykarpatskyi University [Ivano-Frankivsk], 1996). Therefore this article shall pay minimal attention to this issue.

7. The page and line references to Antonych's poems cited in this article are to Bohdan Ihor Antonych, *Zibrani tvory*, ed. Sviatoslav Hordynsky and Bohdan Rubchak (New York and Winnipeg: Organization for Defense of Lemkivshchyna in America, for the Slovo Association of Ukrainian Writers in Exile, 1967). Antonych's incorrect word stresses were unquestionably unintentional: whenever he deliberately changed a stress, he indicated this in a separate footnote. For instance, in "Bozhevilna ryba" (The Crazy Fish) he uses the word "мети" and adds a footnote to indicate that this is a case form of "мето" 'noise' and not "мета" 'goal'; hence the change in stress. The more Antonych wrote in Ukrainian, the fewer mistakes he made. His archives indicate that he consulted dictionaries constantly in order to master the literary language. As he progressed, it is unlikely that his poems were corrected by editors. Indeed, there are no corrections in the manuscripts he submitted for publication, and, ironically, it appears that Antonych eventually acquired a better grasp of the language than his editors in Lviv. A valuable insight in this regard is found in the memoir of one of his colleagues, Bohdan Romanenchuk: "Pro poeta, shcho buv khrushchem: Spohad pro Antonycha v 10-i rokivny smerti," repr. in *Kurier Kryvbasu*, nos. 93–4 (January 1998), 116.

Lemko dialect is clearly influential in Antonych's early poetry. This dialect is very different from standard Ukrainian in stress, intonation, and vocabulary, all of which are important in prosody; Lemko is the only Ukrainian dialect in which the stress falls invariably on the penultimate syllable in all words, as it does in Polish. Of course, Antonych was also influenced by Polish, the language in which he was educated and the dominant language in interwar Galician society and culture.⁸

To demonstrate Antonych's relationship to Polish poetry, let me review the situation in interwar Polish literature, paying particular attention to poets who influenced him. Their impact on *Pryvitannia zhyttia* was especially marked.

Skamander

One of the most important groups of poets in interwar Poland was Skamander, formed in Warsaw after 1918 and connected with the monthly *Skamander* (1920–29 and 1935–39) and the weekly *Wiadomości Literackie* (1924–39).⁹ Its members were Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Lechoń, Słonimski, Tuwim, and Wierzyński. According to Michał Głowiński, it was not a "formal" group but a "situational" one¹⁰: its members were linked not by an artistic program, but rather by friendship and a similar aesthetic outlook.

Skamander's agenda was shaped by the new and unique circumstances in which it arose, namely, the restoration of Polish independence in 1918. Its members rejected the artistic program of Young Poland and maintained that in newly independent Poland the purpose of literature had to be completely different and avoid the political stance, moralizing, and didactic elements found in earlier Polish literature. The poet's role was not the one the Romantics and positivists had called for—to engage in heroic deeds or to "fortify hearts"—nor should it be focused on producing *l'art pour l'art*, a principle enunciated in Young Poland's literary program. It should express

8. For more on bilingualism and the role of the socio-cultural setting, see Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems* (The Hague: Mouton, 1963).

9. My description of the literary groups and trends here and below is from a current perspective. It would be hard to prove that Antonych was able to differentiate between the two models of poetry represented by Skamander and the Cracow Avant-garde, even though this distinction was much clearer by the time he debuted as a poet than it was in the 1920s. What is important for our purposes, however, is that Antonych was familiar with the poetry and theoretical writings of Tuwim, Wierzyński, and the avant-garde writers Przyboś and Peiper.

10. Michał Głowiński, "Grupa literacka a model poezji: Przykład 'Skamandra,'" in his *Style odbioru: Szkice o komunikacji literackiej* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1977).

neither passive acceptance nor revolt, but an *active attitude* toward the world. Unlike other Polish literary groups, the poets of Skamander never announced a theoretical program and were opposed to any theory of art. But they agreed on certain common principles: (1) the unrestrained development of creative talent; (2) the poetics of *prezenteizm*, that is, the connection of art with the present time; and (3) vitalism, that is, the celebration of life in all its biological manifestations. In contrast to their literary predecessors, Skamander's poets addressed the mass reader. They were also interested in meta-poetic reflections, particularly in the poet's relationship with poetry and with the reader.

Antonych's early writings were particularly inspired by Tuwim and Wierzyński. Certain aspects of their poetics can be found in his first two books, *Pryvitannia zhyttia* and *Try persteni* (Three Rings, 1934). Antonych echoes these poets' vitalism and use of the sports theme. The vitalistic Dionysian motif, which is expressed primarily as spontaneity and the cult of life as a biological phenomenon, is found in Wierzyński's *Wiosna i wino* (Spring and Wine, 1919) and *Wróble na dachu* (Sparrows on the Roof, 1921) and in Tuwim's *Czyhanie na Boga* (Waylaying God, 1918) and *Sokrates tańczący* (Dancing Socrates, 1920). Wierzyński's "Śpiew dionizyjski" (Dionysian Singing) is considered to be his most programmatic poem:

Podnieśmy wraz kielichy! Trąćmy się radośnie
I niechaj huczny śmiech nasz cały świat obleci,
Nam serce w nieobjęty ogrom globu rośnie,
Zdrowie bogów pijemy, niebiescy poeci.

O, bracia! Pijmy zdrowie tego, co tańcami
Przepływa w śnie i pieśni, marmurach i gipsie.
Wiwat! Niech żyje życie! Cały świat wraz z nami:
Wszak tańczy już w krąg słońca na swojej elipsie.¹¹

A similar spirit inspires Tuwim's "Poezja" (Poetry):

11. Let us raise our glasses! Let's clink them joyfully / And may our boisterous laughter fly around the entire world, / May our hearts grow as large as the unembraceable globe, / Heavenly poets, let us drink to the health of the gods!... // O brothers! Let us drink to the one who with dances / Floats across in dreams and songs, marble and plaster. / Hurrah! To life! The whole world is with us: / For the sun is already dancing in its orbit (Kazimierz Wierzyński, *Poezje zebrane*, vol. 1, comp. Waldemar Smaszcz [Białystok: Łuk, 1994], 48). Contrary to some Ukrainian critics, the "Dionysian affirmation of life" cannot be attributed to Antonych. His lifelong search for "a home beyond the star" cannot be construed as an affirmation of life as we know it on Earth.

Powstał w mej duszy wprost szaleńczy plan,
 Plan, który można przyrównać herezji:
 Niechaj się dzisiaj dowie wszelki stan,
 Co ja właściwie sądzę ... o poezji

...
 Będą te słowa jak taneczny krok!
 Będą — jak złota do Stolicy droga!
 — *Poezja — jest to, proszę panów, skok,*
Skok barbarzyńcy, który poczuł Boga!

Jest to pierwotny, czippewajski krzyk
 I chutna miłość do rodzącej ziemi,
 Zadowolony, barbarzyńcy ryk,
 Gdy ujrzał Ogień oczy zdumionymi.¹²

Both poems present a vision in which people can attain unity with being through an irrational act that liberates them from the limitations of bourgeois common sense and the obligations of social convention. These free and self-confident individuals see themselves, on the one hand, against the background of nature and, on the other, in an urban setting. Both Wierzyński and Tuwim praise modern civilization and its technical achievements.

Although Ukrainian scholars have discussed Antonych's Dionysian motifs in *Pryvitannia zhyttia* at length, I have found only five poems expressing this spirit: "Pisnia pro vichnu molodist" (A Song about Eternal Youth), "Himn zhyttia" (Hymn to Life), "Pisnia badorykh brodiah" (Song of the Daring Vagabonds), "Avtobiohrafia" (Autobiography), and "Pryvitannia zhyttia." Their mood, however, is not quite the same as that of the Polish poets. For example, here is an excerpt from "Pryvitannia zhyttia":

Для молодих плечей легкий є неба в'юк,
 в одноманітності не явиться нам позіх.
 О, не словами уст, але словами рук
 співати будем пісню на життя порозі.

12. In my soul a crazy plan has arisen, / A plan that can be compared to heresy: / Let everyone here learn today / What I really think about ... poetry / ... / These words will be like a dance step! / They will be like the golden road to the Capital! / Poetry, gentlemen, is a leap, / The leap of a barbarian who has sensed God! // It's a primeval, Chippewa yell / And an animal love for the fertile earth, / A satisfied barbarian roar, / When one sees Fire with astonished eyes (Tuwim, "Poezja," in his *Wiersze*, vol. 1, ed. Alina Kowalczykowa [Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1986], 281).

Вітай життя! Що біль даєш, і щастя і красу
і сум і горе. В мені юний пал не вмер ще.
Вітай життя! І на привіт тобі понесу
м'яке та в панцир крицевий закуте серце. (66: 17–24)¹³

This sounds more like a bookish declaration than real enthusiasm. It is reminiscent of a Baroque poem written for some important occasion. The exclamation “Greetings, life!” has a commonplace ring, which is typical for a beginning poet. It seems that the literary shape of Antonych’s Dionysian love of life was, at this early stage, a variation on a motif that was in fashion at the time.¹⁴ This is confirmed by the fact that the prevalent mode in *Pryvitannia zhyttia* is rather different—that of romantic discontent with visible reality and that of the rebel who wants to escape (the word *vtekty* often appears in the collection) from “grey” everyday life. Many poems have titles that sound very modern—“Raketa” (Rocket), “Stratosfera” (Stratosphere), and “Orel i litak” (The Eagle and the Airplane). Despite our expectations, they do not elaborate futuristically on the greatness of our civilization, but instead serve to construct a single image—that of escape from mundane life into a “lofty” reality. For this reason I disagree with those critics who claim that Antonych’s first volume of poetry is filled with optimism and Dionysian motifs.¹⁵ They do appear later, though in transformed images, in *Knyha Leva* (The Book of the Lion, 1936) and *Zelena ievanheliia* (1938). But optimism is never the predominant mood in Antonych’s writings. He never admires technological civilization and the metropolis. This is one of the main differences between him and the early poetry of the Skamander group.

The best example of how Antonych adapted Polish models to articulate his own vision is the sports theme in his cycle “Bronzovi miazy” (Bronze

13. For young shoulders the sky’s burden is light, / a yawn will not appear in the monotony. / Oh, not with the lips’ words, but with the hands’ words / we’ll sing a song at life’s doorstep. // Greetings, life! That brings pain and joy and beauty / and sadness and grief. My youthful ardour has not yet died. / Greetings, life! And in welcome I’ll bring you / a soft heart encased in steel armour.

14. As Michał Głowiński points out “Dionysianism was not only a trait of Tuwim’s—during the First World War and the early 1920s it grew to the rank of one of the frequent poets’ poses, [and] was also one of the frequently appearing literary motifs” (*Poetyka Tuwima a polska tradycja literacka* [Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1962], 241).

15. See, for example, Leonid Novychenko, “Rozmova pro Antonycha,” in *Vesny rozspivanoї kniaz: Slovo pro Antonycha. Statti. Ese. Spohady. Lysty. Poezii*, ed. M. M. Ilnytsky and R. M. Lubkivsky (Lviv: Kameniar, 1989), 8; and Stepan Trofymuk, “Poet vesnianoho pokhmillia,” in *ibid.*, 79–80.

Muscles). This cycle is doubtlessly based on Wierzyński's *Laur olimpijski* (Olympic Laurels, 1928), whose philosophy of the human body brought that author the literary award of the 1928 Olympic Games and international fame.¹⁶ The sports theme, which was new in Polish and, even more so, Ukrainian poetry, most likely originated with the emergence of mass culture and Futurism at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁷ This theme is important and complex in both Antonych and Wierzyński. It reflects their belief that a person can attain the "authentic sphere" of life and even achieve "life itself" through sports; and that one can gain an understanding of the nature of breath and air and the laws of motion and equilibrium through physical training. In ancient Greece the dynamic of the athletic body was seen as an expression of divinity. Wierzyński tried to make the connection between sports and the sacred in a new way, through the language of experience. In "Bieg na przełaj" (Cross-country Race) he reaches divine, primeval life through the animal element:

Pod racicami — nogami
drzy masa bezkształtna praśniata.
Podbija stopy tysiączne,
pomnaża je przez miliony.

Niech pędzi świat, jak karuzel,
na swojej elipsie szalonej!
Niech huczy, bębni na alarm,
niech w pościg się wieczny rozpęta!
[...]

Co to za stado wspaniałe!
Pół-bogi! Pół-ludzie! Zwierzęta!¹⁸

16. For more on Wierzyński, see Anna Nasiłowska, *Kazimierz Wierzyński* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1991).

17. On the innovative character of the sports theme in Ukrainian literature, see Antonych's article "Deshcho pro sportyvnu terminolohiiu," *Vohni*, 1932, no. 4; repr. in Bohdan-Ihor Antonych, *Tvory*, ed. M. N. Moskalenko (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1998), 455–6.

18. Beneath the hooves and the legs / The formless primeval mass shivers. / Squeezed out are thousands of feet / multiplied by millions. // Let the world swirl like a carousel / in its furious orbit! / Let it clamour and drum out the alarm, / Let it enter the eternal chase! / [...] / What a splendid herd! / Half-gods! Half-humans! Animals! (*Poezje zebrane*, 1: 171–2).

The animal element is primeval and thus fundamental to being, according to the above stanza. Wierzyński believed that “higher” human nature can be advanced and the world can be harmonized through the senses and emotions. Physical exertion cancels the alienation of reason, the opposition between the “trivial” matters of the body and the “high” spirit.

Antonych shared this notion. His cycle “Bronzovi miazy” consists of six poems: “Pisnia zmahuniv” (The Competitors’ Song), “Bih na 1000 metriv” (The 1,000 Metre Race), “Skok z zherdkou” (Pole Vault), “Divchyna z dyskom” (The Girl with a Discus), “Sytkivka” (Volleyball), and “Zmahannia atletiv” (Athletes’ Competition). Three of them echo the titles of Wierzyński’s poems, except that the latter’s poem is called “Bieg na 100 metrów” (The 100-Metre Race). Let us compare “Skok o tyczce” (Pole Vault) and “Skok z zherdkou” to see how Antonych adapted Wierzyński’s poem.

Wierzyński writes:

Już odbił się, już płynie! Boską równowagę
 Rozpiną się na drzewcu i wieje, jak flagą,
 Dolata do poprzeczki i nagłym trzepotem
 Przerzuca się jak gdyby był ptakiem i kotem.

Zatrzymajcie go w locie, niech w górze zastygnie,
 Niech w tył odrzuci tyczkę, niepotrzebną dźwignię,
 Niech tak trwa, niech tak wisi, owinięty chmurą,
 Rozpylony w powietrzu, leciutki jak pióro.

Nie opadnie na siłach, nie osłabnie w pędzie,
 Jeszcze wyżej się wznesie, nad wszystkie krawędzie,
 Odpowie nam z wysoka, odkrzyknie się echem,
 Że leci prosto w niebo, jest naszym oddechem.¹⁹

And here is Antonovych’s “Skok z zherdkou”:

19. He had already broken away, he is soaring! With divine equanimity / He stretches out on the pole and flutters there like a flag, / He flies up to the crossbar and with a sudden quiver / Springs over it as though he were a bird and a cat. // Halt him in his flight, may he freeze at the peak, / May he toss away the pole, an unnecessary lever, / May he stay thus, may he hang thus, wrapped in a cloud, / Pulverized in the air, light as a feather. // He will not lose his strength, will not weaken in his drive, / He will rise even higher, above all limits, and / Will answer us from on high, will shout back like an echo, / That he is flying straight to heaven and is our breath (*Poezje zebrane*, 1: 164–5).

Набрав повітря в груди,
аж засвистали звуком флейт.
Підніс жердину вгору;
так птах підносить дзьоб,
як починає лет.

Немов стовп в землю,
вбив ноги у сажневий крок.
Пробитий наскрізь вітер.
Ніг видно лиш галоп.
Угору стрілив скок.

Штовхнув себе й ворину
відкинула назад рука.
Залопотали в вітрі
і ноги й руки враз,
мов крила вітряка.

Хоч тіло олив'яне,
здається, що легкий мов лист.
Сумний, що не зістане,
мов парус понад криком
мас,
поволі впав униз (39–40)²⁰

There are certain differences in the two poets' treatments of the same theme, but they are not great. Aside from using different formal devices, both poets are fascinated with motion, not unlike the cubists' preoccupation with depicting motion by simple geometrical forms.

In sports, the opposition between the spirit and matter (a philosophical belief that arose in the Middle Ages and persisted up to the twentieth

20. He filled his lungs with air, / Until they whistled like the sound of flutes. / He raised the pole up; / that's how a bird raises its beak / when it starts its flight. // Like posts into the earth, / He drove his legs into a broad stride. / The wind is pierced right through. / Only the gallop of his legs is visible. / Upward shot the leap. // He pushed himself and his hand / thrust back the pole. / In the wind his legs and arms / fluttered at once, / like a windmill's vanes. // Although his body's leaden, / He seems light as a leaf. / He is sad he won't stay, / Like a sail above the roar / of the masses, / And slowly he dropped to the ground.

century) is negated, and this becomes the point of departure for a modern conception of the person. It is a return to the idea of the human as the unity of the spirit and the flesh and of motion as the highest philosophy of the body. The connection between Antonych's "Bronzovi miazy" and Wierzyński's "Laur olimpijski" has been noted by Ukrainian scholars,²¹ but without elaborating on Antonych's elaboration upon a foreign model.

It might be argued that Antonych chose this subject because, like Wierzyński, he was a poet who composed poems for occasions. *Pryvitannia zhyttia* consists of bookish, baroquelike verses with clear declarative endings that, in effect, make Antonych's first collection rather weak. There was, however, a practical reason why he wrote his sports cycle. In a 1932 article he wrote:

Our sports terminology is not yet fixed. For us sport is still a flower artificially cultivated within small circles of enthusiasts in cities, [and] so far [it] has no tradition behind it. It came to us from abroad and brought with it a foreign vocabulary. Understandably, chaos has arisen. The issue has been complicated [further] by the lack of any contacts between our sports circles and those beyond the Zbruch [in Soviet Ukraine]. There is a danger that a separate Galician sports jargon, which will be incomprehensible anywhere outside Lviv, will develop.²²

In light of this statement, I would conjecture that Antonych supported the creation of a standardized Ukrainian sports vocabulary. If we bear in mind that one of the reasons he wrote his first collection was to introduce new literary motifs, then the reason for writing "Bronzovi miazy" could well have been Antonych's conscious effort to acquaint the Ukrainian reader with the new sports lexicon. In this regard, Wierzyński provided him with a model.

Let us now consider another member of Skamander whom Antonych enjoyed reading—Julian Tuwim. Their relationship is more complex and goes beyond the mere borrowing of themes. Both of these poets had an early fascination with biological imagery (compare Tuwim's *Wierszy tom czwarty* [Verses, Volume Four] and Antonych's *Zelena ievanhelia*), and this later gave way to the autobiographical mode (compare Tuwim's *Słowa we krwi* [Words in Blood] and Antonych's *Try perstni*). Their existential fear of and obsession with death and their concomitant perception of chaos and destruction as fundamental qualities of modern civilization were likely why both poets created the myth of the primeval man and Arcadia and later adopted the catastrophic mode of depicting the present (compare Tuwim's

21. See, for example, Ilnytsky, *Bohdan-Ihor Antonych*, 41.

22. "Deshcho pro nashu sportovu terminolohiiu," in Antonych, *Tvory*, 455–6.

Bal w operze [The Ball at the Opera] and Antonych's *Rotatsii*). But a metamorphosis in the artistic devices of both poets did occur. At the beginning these devices served to express the voice of the lyrical I, but later they were replaced by a language aimed at penetrating "true" metaphysical reality.

Antonych's nature imagery is similar to Tuwim's, particularly in *Knyha Leva* and *Zelena ievanheliia*.²³ Let us compare, for example, Tuwim's "Przemiany" (Transformations):

Nuże kwiaty — lepkie i mięsiste,
Pęczniające, wygięte znaczaco,
Kwiaty, wonią zbarwioną wytrysle
W waniliowe, korzenne goraco!²⁴

with Antonych's "Dim za zoreiu" (The House beyond the Star):

Набреклі пуп'янки бубнявіють в клейстій піні,
як зорі до рослин, зустрівшись в поцілунку, липнуть,
і крізь лійки фіялок ніч фільтрує чар весінній,
аж пригорщами пахощів у чаші квіття сипне. (163: 5-8)²⁵

Both excerpts refer to the myth of primordiality, which was explored in Polish poetry not only by Tuwim but also by his older colleague, Bolesław Leśmian. They and Antonych all ascribe a hidden mythical meaning to verdure, leaves, flowers, and animals that reveals the primeval harmony of the universe. An example of the attention Tuwim paid to this theme is his collection *Treść gorejaca* (Fiery Substance); it contains many poems articulating versions of the myth of paradise lost. There Tuwim employed Leśmian's method of searching for the primeval word through euphony and neologisms. A particularly interesting question is whether all three of the above poets elaborated on the myth of "primordiality" as an avoidance strategy. I believe that all three of them did so to avoid dealing with their time and place. In Leśmian's poetry, as in Antonych's *Knyha Leva* and

23. I believe that the similarities are the result of an independent evolution. I shall try to show that nature imagery was an organic mode of expression in Antonych's later poetry. The similarity of their imagery reflects the similarity of the two poets' imagination and their myth of primeval man, which was popular in modernist literature.

24. Come on flowers—sticky and meaty, / Swollen, bent suggestively, / Flowers, spray out with a colourful scent / In a vanillin spicy heat! (*Wiersze*, 2: 12).

25. Swollen buds stand out in a gluey froth, / like stars meeting plants in a kiss they stick together, / and through violets' funnels night filters spring's enchantment / until it pours handfuls of fragrances into the flowers' grails.

Zelena ievanheliaa, the present world is almost entirely absent, while the later Tuwim negates through the device of “*odrealnienie*” (making something unreal).²⁶ In general, however, Antonych’s and Tuwim’s conceptions of poetry were similar. As Głowiński writes, “According to Tuwim, poetry is a path to the knowledge of God and the absolute.”²⁷ Antonych’s search for “the house beyond the star” and “*korin rechi*” (root of things) points to the same goal.

Another feature that Antonych and Tuwim share is imagery drawn from childhood. Compare, for instance, Tuwim’s “*Nad Cezarem*” (Reading Caesar) in *Słowa we krwi* and Antonych’s “*Proshchannia shkoly*” (Farewell to School) and “*Zelena elehiaa*” (Green Elegy) in his first collection. In both poets this theme later evolved into the autobiographical mode of expression as a means of searching for identity.²⁸ This mode became dominant in Antonych by the time he wrote his second collection, *Try perstni* (1934), and in Tuwim two years later, in *Treść gorejaca*. While Tuwim’s early poetry embraces optimism, his mature work sheds this mood: it is more reflective and reflects the anxiety and horror he experienced when he was attacked by anti-Semitic critics in the 1930s. Tuwim developed a certain “poetic philosophy of the word” focused on authorial reflection.²⁹

This interest in meta-poetic meditations—on the process of writing, the poet’s obligations, and so forth—was also common to Tuwim and Antonych. The problems of the “poetic craft,” the goal of writing, and so on, were already significant topics in Antonych’s first collection.³⁰ Five years later, in *Knyha Leva*, he expressed these concerns more fully and profoundly in his quest for the “*praslovo*” (the primeval word) and the “*korin rechi*.³¹ Such concerns are characteristic of modernist literature and were most clearly articulated in avant-garde theories of art. The latter were a source of inspira-

26. See Głowiński, *Poetyka Tuwima*, 147.

27. Ibid., 99.

28. The issue of identity was important for both poets: Antonych felt his “otherness” in Lviv, and Tuwim began to feel “other” in the 1930s when he was attacked by right-wing Polish nationalist organizations because he was of Jewish origin.

29. See Jadwiga Sawicka, *Filozofia słowa Juliana Tuwima* (Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich, 1975).

30. The cycle “Do muzy” (To [My] Muse) in *Pryvitannia zhyttia* deals with meta-poetic categories.

31. Tuwim has meta-poetic works in his collections *Słowo i ciało* (The Word and the Flesh) and *Treść gorejaca*. On his philosophy of the word, see chapter five of Głowiński’s *Poetyka Tuwima*, 218–34.

tion for both poets, who independently evolved their own meta-poetic conceptualizations.

I should point out, however, that Antonych never resorted to “deformation of the word” as Tuwim did.³² Moreover, unlike Tuwim, Antonych was never enthusiastic about the metropolis and the crowd as a subject of poetic depiction. Instead, as I shall show below, he always elaborated on these topics in the catastrophic mode (*Rotatsii* is the best example).

There is no doubt that Antonych and Tuwim made important contributions to their respective literatures. Tuwim had a great impact on the Polish language and Polish poetry. He represented the break with the older tradition of national and patriotic themes in literature. Furthermore, he not only introduced the urban motif, but also yearned for the fullness of life in all its manifestations. At all times Tuwim was deeply conscious of the language he must use to convey the essence of being. Antonych’s role in Ukrainian poetry was analogous.

While both Tuwim and Antonych indicated that they were influenced by Russian symbolists such as Valerii Briusov, Konstantin Balmont, and Viacheslav Ivanov, they also shared a common literary mentor in Walt Whitman. The latter provides another link between the Skamander group and Antonych. Members of the group, particularly Tuwim, were the first translators and popularizers of Whitman’s work in Poland. Antonych was acquainted with their translations, and in one speech he called Whitman “a minister of the republic of poets.”³³

The Cracow Avant-Garde

Avant-garde art was another important source of inspiration for Antonych.³⁴ In Poland the best work in both the theory and practice of poetry was done by the so-called Cracow Avant-garde (Awangarda Krakowska) poets,

32. See, for example, Tuwim’s poem “Zielone słowa” (Green Words) in his cycle “Słopiewnie.” Tuwim’s relationship to the poetic word was twofold. On the one hand, he was captivated by the word as a vehicle of emotions and never transcended the conventions of language and style. On the other hand, he was fascinated with the deformation of words and experimented with Futurist and Leśmian’s poetics, which granted the poet the right to violate the conventions of language use in order to reach the primeval word.

33. See his “Stanovishche poeta” (The Poet’s Status, 1935) in his *Zibrani tvory*, 341. Whitman as a link between Antonych and Skamander is too broad a topic to cover in this paper.

34. He was a member of the avant-garde Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists (ANUM) in Lviv.

sometimes called “*specie od literatury*” (specialists in literature), grouped around the poet and theoretician Tadeusz Peiper, the editor of the literary magazine *Zwrotnica* and later of *Linia*. The group included Julian Przyboś, Julian Brzekowski, and Jalu Kurek. The foundations of its literary program were defined by Peiper, but many of its premises were shared by the entire European avant-garde: belief in the linear character of history, in scientific and technological progress, and in social utopia. Moreover, the Cracow Avant-garde identified with the notion of liberation from nature (i.e., biology) and the rationalization of the creative process, that is, the conviction that art depends upon change in contemporary civilization and that tradition should therefore be violently opposed. On the level of poetic structure this was manifested as anti-Futurist resistance, the rejection of “*słowa na wolność*” (unfettered words), and the “defence of syntax” and of order over chaos. The Cracow Avant-garde viewed art as an act of organizing reality that contains its own proposal for the order of things. According to Peiper, art should be an analogue to the present and reflect contemporary rules of construction and efficiency. Hence he postulated that a work of art must be an “arrangement” organized along functional and organic lines.

Peiper elaborated his theory of poetry in 1925.³⁵ His point of departure was his disagreement with the Romantics, who believed that an emotion equalled the word for it. For him, poetry writing is a craft whose purpose is to create “inventions” in poetic articulation and new linguistic methods that surpass previous literary models. A passive rendering of the artist’s inner world and uncontrolled emotions should be replaced by the “creative will” and a conscious selection of emotions based on rational meditation. The poet is not a seer but a wordsmith, a skilled technician who is deeply aware of his goals and tools. For Peiper, the poetic “economy of the word” was the fundamental artistic device.³⁶

I would argue that the Cracow Avant-garde’s theoretical agenda is an important aspect in considering the literary core of Antonych’s poetics. His strong theoretical awareness is evident in the fact that he was the only Ukrainian poet of his period to express his ideas about literature systematically. Interestingly enough, he wrote most of his articles and reviews in 1932, the year after his first collection appeared and before he had composed

35. Tadeusz Peiper, *Nowe usta: Odczyt o poezji* (Lviv: Ateneum, 1925).

36. Peiper introduced the term “*ekonomizm*” (economism) in his article “*Metafora teraźniejszości*,” *Zwrotnica*, November 1922. See also Andrzej Lam, *Awangarda poetycka: Manifesty i protesty. Antologia. Programy lat 1917–23* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1969), 55.

most of his poetry. In these articles Antonych consciously elaborated a new model of poetry for Ukrainian literature, perhaps to justify his innovative artistic experiments, which far transcended the expectations of the average reader. In a sense, he was trying to prepare readers for his innovative poetics.³⁷

The meta-poetic focus of avant-garde art was attractive to Antonych because of his theoretical inclinations. A few important elements of avant-garde poetics inspired him to a significant degree. One of them was a new form of versification, according to which metre and intonation were now the primary organizing categories of poetic structure. Although Antonych was not particularly interested in formal experimentation, a few examples of it can be found in *Pryvitannia zhyytia*, for instance in the poem “Osin” (Autumn). In his later works, albeit with traditional stanzas, he introduced certain innovations, such as the monumental seven- or eight-foot iambic line, for which most reviewers, including Sviatoslav Hordynsky, criticized him.³⁸

The avant-garde poetry that Peiper postulated was based on an assumption of a different kind of reception: his idea of arrangement on the writer’s side was connected to the idea of re-arrangement on the reader’s side. Antonych adapted this notion to his literary program, because for him the issue of the implied Ukrainian reader of his new poetics was extremely important. In challenging the traditional Western Ukrainian literary canon, Antonych also challenged the idea of its implied reader. As he predicted it would be, his poetry was widely misread, although it was generally praised. He was criticized above all for being incomprehensible. The readers of the literary journal *Nazustrich* criticized the editor for publishing “such things” and deemed them crazy (“iakes bezholovia”).³⁹ Critics and literary scholars also found his poetry difficult. Ievhen Malaniuk and Mykhailo Rudnytsky both praised only Antonych’s first two collections, whose general tone was that of the traditional Ukrainian canon. But they criticized his later works, in which he introduced his new poetics, for “pointless experimentation.” Antonych knew that his poetry would be misread because it was different. He defended himself thus: “The intelligibility of poetry, like the intelligibility

37. Antonych also wrote an unpublished article with advice for beginner poets, “Literaturna poradnia” (ms. Ant. 59, P III).

38. See Sviatoslav Hordynsky, “Laboratoriia Antonycha,” in Bohdan Ihor Antonych, *Persten molodosti: Do 30-littia vid smerti poeta (1909–1937)* (Prešov: Slovatske pedahohichne vydavnystvo, 1966), 314.

39. See Antonych’s interview with the editors of *Nazustrich* in 1935, “Iak rozumity poeziiu: Rozmova v redaktsii z Bohdanom I. Antonychem,” *Suchasnist*, 1992, no. 9: 74.

of literary works in general, is a relative and subjective matter.”⁴⁰ In his view art does not have to be intelligible or easily understood. Modern literature requires a modern reader, but, Antonych asserted, such a reader was still absent in Western Ukrainian literature.

Besides the new form of versification and the new implied reader, Antonych was concerned with two other essential avant-garde premises: (1) the conception of the poet-craftsman (in his words, the “carpenter of the word”); and (2) the conception of a poem’s construction and the selection of poetic images. Here I shall focus on the latter.

For Antonych, the issue was escaping the “theme-event” unity of sequence that was obligatory in traditional poetry. Selection of subject matter required concentrating on the composition not only of individual poems, but of entire books. This theoretical innovation played a very important practical role for Antonych:

Imaginings, and impressions even more so, are chaotic, disorderly, [and] unorganized. This raw material has to be ordered [and] corrected, what is important and essential has to be selected from it, and, on the other hand, much of it has to be rejected. *In a word, the artist must compose a work.* A certain [amount of] construction takes place even in works that from a general perspective give the impression of being chaotic and disordered. Simply put, in a work of art even chaos has to be constructed. Genuine chaos is possible only in the real world, but never in the reality [projected in] art. Hence it is wrong to call an artistic tendency “constructivism,” *for generally all art is constructive.*⁴¹

This excerpt shows that Antonych accepted the avant-garde idea of arranging that Peiper postulated and other members of the Cracow Avant-garde adopted. Nearly all Ukrainian critics have overlooked the cornerstone of Antonych’s poetics—his quest to combine vision and poetic construction—and his attempt at grasping and synthesizing on the level of the image and the text’s inner structure and of the mythical versus the rational comprehension of reality. The only exception was Orest Zilinsky, who noted that “In his entire subsequent development the poet [Antonych] tries to refute the cold rationality that characterizes a large part of the poems in his first collection. But the intellect, which arranges the world around the person, forever remains the defining element of Antonych’s poetry.”⁴²

40. Ibid., 77.

41. “Natsionalne mystetstvo: Sproba idealistychnoi systemy mystetstva,” in Antonych, *Zibrani tvory*, 333–4. Emphasis added.

42. Orest Zilinsky, “Dim za zoreiu,” in *Vesny rozspivanoj kniaz*, 90.

It is in its theory of metaphor, however, that Antonych's poetics are most similar to those of the avant-garde. Metaphor is their dominant characteristic, the centre of gravity. According to Peiper's definition, using a metaphorical construction is equivalent to building a new state of affairs in a lyrical utterance. Through metaphor the lyrical subject reveals his or her attitude toward the world. "Perhaps nothing characterizes a poet better than the nature of his metaphors," Peiper declared.⁴³ Metaphor replaces the description of a given experience. In the course of an utterance, the speaker's attitude toward the object of experience becomes clear. The speaker has a *dynamic* character and is created in the process of the utterance. This attitude is expressed in the twofold construction of an avant-garde verse: in the apparent literal meaning of the words used in the metaphor and the in the "higher" meaning of the image. Zilinsky perceptively noted that

There is a fundamental difference between the metaphors [*metaforyka*] of most Ukrainian poets and Antonych's metaphors. In other poets the metaphor reinforces the realistic image like a musical chord, [but] in Antonych it becomes the building material of the entire fiction of the imaginary world, in which things are interwoven into new functional complexes. Properly speaking, this is no longer a metaphor but an organic part of a new, separate reality.⁴⁴

In other words, in Antonych's metaphors, as in those of the avant-garde poets, there is a *distortion* of the real relations among objects, and these metaphors become a tool for building a different reality. Let us consider an excerpt from "Monumentalnyi kraiveyd" (Monumental Landscape) in *Knyha Leva*, where Antonych is at his best in composing monumental sequences of images:

Червоні куби мурів, кола жовтих площ, квадрати скверів.
 Людино, думки циркулем відмірюй зорі і міста!
 На брилі брила, коло в колі, вікна понад вікна й двері,
 стає на мідних сходах сонце, мов статуя золота.

Басейни, мов дзеркала нерухомі в курявлі червоній.
 Тут небо миється в воді густій і срібній, наче ртуть.
 В зеленім полум'ї трави пасуться мармурові коні,
 камінні янголи у парку металево в сурми дмуть. (116: 1–8)⁴⁵

43. Peiper, "Metafora teraźniejszości," 54.

44. Zilinsky, "Dim za zoreiu," 99.

45. Red cubes of walls, yellow circles of plazas, quadrates of squares. / Person, measure stars and cities with the compass of thought! / On a chunk a chunk, a circle in a circle, windows above windows and doors, / the sun stops on copper steps like a statue

In this excerpt, common words, each of which mean something (“red cubes of walls,” “circles of yellow plazas), metaphorically mean something else and refer to another world, which emerges from the process of perception. This “different” reality surfaces in the form of surreal images. Similar metaphors and a similar vision also informs other works by Antonych, particularly the monumental poems in the “Second Chapter” of *Knyha Leva* and in *Rotatsii*. A surreal atmosphere also appears in some short poems in the “Second Lyrical Intermezzo” of *Knyha Leva*. Here is an excerpt from “Chervona kytaika” (The Red Satin):

Лопочуть зорі на тополях
і люди христяться з тривоги,
коли ножами місяць колуть
хасиди в чорних синагогах. (128: 5–8)⁴⁶

But the distortion of actual relations among objects is not the only avant-garde characteristic of Antonych’s metaphors. Another feature inspired by the avant-garde is his metaphors’ acuteness as in the second stanza of “Cheremkhovyi virsh” (A Bird Cherry Verse) in the “Second Lyrical Intermezzo” of *Zelena ievanhelia*:

Стіл обростає буйним листям
і разом з кріслом я вже куш.
З черемх читаю — з книг столистих —
рослинну мудрість вічних пуш. (153: 5–8)⁴⁷

Avant-garde tendencies were undoubtedly crucial to Antonych’s oeuvre. They had an impact on his awareness of the literary craft, poetic devices, and the liberties and restrictions of language—the source of his interest in meta-poetic reflections and his attention to the internal structure of verse. Secondly, they inspired the anti-mimetic attitude that is evident in his poetic search for more adequate methods of expression. Thirdly, they encouraged him to link literature with the methods of the other arts. Thus we see in

of gold. // Basins like fixed mirrors in a red cloud of dust. / Here the sky washes in water thick and silvery like mercury. / In the grass’s green embers marble horses graze, / stone angels in the park blow metallically into horns.

46. The stars flap against the poplars / and people cross themselves from fear / when Hasidim in black synagogues / pierce the moon with knives.

47. The table’s growing over with abundant leaves / And along with the chair I’m now a bush. / I read from bird cherry trees—from hundred-leaved books— / the vegetative wisdom of eternal wilds.

Antonych not only a strong visual sense (particularly in his mature poetry)⁴⁸ and a powerful musicality, but also the use of film techniques such as collage and large- and small-plane framing. Finally, Antonych was influenced by avant-garde conceptualism. In his early works this influence was manifested in a bookish way, but with time his literary technique became much more sophisticated.

However, when one examines the world that Antonych represents in his poetry, one can see differences between his personal poetic diction and the avant-garde program Peiper articulated. The most significant distinction is the magico-mythical foundation of Antonych's poetry. For example, his epistemological attitude is quite different from Przyboś's, who wanted to state the expressible. Meanwhile Antonych wanted to state the inexpressible as he sought to give witness to the metaphysical underpinnings of human existence. The two poets had antithetical attitudes toward writing. Antonych's stance was that of the creator who summons worlds out of nothingness by the magical power of the poetic word, while Przyboś's was that of an engineer of language who assembles his poetic pieces from existing materials.

Although the avant-garde had a powerful influence on Antonych's poetics, the traditions of Romanticism and symbolism were no less important. The key elements in Antonych's oeuvre after 1935 were the creation of "cosmic" poetry, the search for "the bottom of reality," the quest for the primordial word (*praslovo*), the antithetical vision of an ideal reality and everyday life, the longing for a mythical "home beyond the star," the granting of the rights of creator and prophet to the poet, the two-plane (visible and invisible) vision of reality, the construction of a language and of situations immersed in a magic atmosphere, the awareness of the vagueness and ambiguity of reality, and the complex function of musicality. All of them point to his convergence with the poetics of symbolism in the wider sense of that term, that is, one not limited to a particular literary period, but rather one designating a certain perspective and a potentially innovative way of representing the world.⁴⁹ This perspective informs not only Antonych's work but also the poetry of the Polish Second Avant-garde

48. Some critics have even deemed Antonych an imagist. See, for example, Ihor Kachurovsky, "Antonychiv misiats i problema ukraïnskoho imazhynizmu," *Suchasnist*, 1997, no. 6: 28–38.

49. Perhaps the term "neo-symbolism," in the way it has been applied to T. S. Eliot in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger and T. V. F. Brogan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), would also be appropriate here.

or, to use an even better term coined by Jerzy Kwiatkowski, “the poetry of the Third Mode of Expression” (which included Czesław Miłosz and Józef Czechowicz).

Antonych’s Liminal Position

Although Antonych was brought up in Poland and steeped in Polish culture and literature, he never published anything in Polish and did not identify himself as a Pole. Ukrainian scholars have persistently overlooked the aesthetic consequences of his multicultural and bilingual roots, particularly in his early works. His familiarity with the Polish literary tradition provided him with patterns he could adapt. Hence it is probable that, on the psychological level, his liminal cultural identification helped him to create a diction in the Ukrainian language that was quite different and previously unknown. Antonych’s pursuit of own poetic diction was not simply a matter of technique, but also a quest for identity. As an artist with liminal status, he found himself on the border of two cultures, and he therefore functioned as a mediator between them.

I have already mentioned that literary Ukrainian was initially much like a foreign language for Antonych and that he had to study it intensively in order to master it. However, he viewed this struggle as a positive value and factor, and it shaped his poetic diction. On the psychological level his poetry manifests the voice of someone who is always an *outsider*, deeply aware of this, and therefore seeks his identity elsewhere, beyond the nation, for a “home beyond the star.” This search can be seen as Antonych’s existential need for access to a transcendental reality where he can dwell and define himself as a person in relation to the Absolute. In the process he maintained an epistemological distance from both the Ukrainian and Polish cultures.

While Antonych felt himself to be a Ukrainian writer, he was acutely aware of his “otherness,” and he mobilized a modernist literary tradition that, in the Ukrainian context, effectively belonged solely to him. He once said publicly: “I want to and have the courage to walk alone and be myself. I am not the mandolin player of any group. I do not beat out free verse [*verbliv*] on the drum of wooden pathos. I know that our poets’ flint and rebelliousness [and] cothurni and trumpets are mostly unsecured bills of exchange [*veksli bez pokryttia*].”⁵⁰ In other words, Antonych wanted to liberate himself from the obligation to write in the “national” vein. Like other modernists, such as Rilke, Eliot, and Yeats, his main concern was art as the act that creates an autotelic value that cannot be compared to any other. For

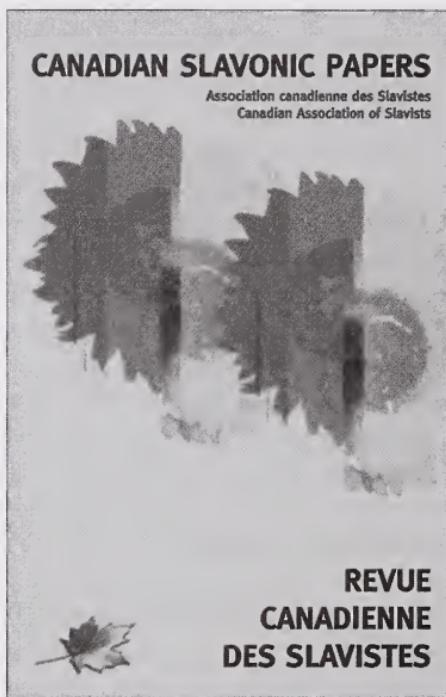
50. “Stanovyshche poeta,” *Zibrani tvory*, 342.

him art's goal was "to provide experiences that actual reality does not." Therefore it is no wonder that in his search for art's universal values Antonych inevitably challenged the existing Western Ukrainian literary canon and its dominant aesthetic of struggle for maintaining the national identity. In order to re-evaluate the categories of art, he presumed he had to demonstrate and describe his own meta-poetics. Antonych believed that the very conception of poetry and its principal categories in Western Ukrainian literature had to be challenged so that the old Ukrainian formula and conception of poetic language, the poet's function, and the comprehension of art would be replaced by modern, universal ideas. His attempt at creating a *counter-poetics* was intentional.

Among his contemporaries, Antonych was the only Ukrainian poet who wrote theoretical articles about the new concepts of poetic language. He successfully sought to introduce a new artistic experience and formulated his own literary agenda, addressing a new implied reader and a new horizon of expectations. His output was not simply that of a lively creative talent, but also of one who had been informed by the fusion of two literary traditions and had managed to transcend the limits of the contemporary Western Ukrainian literary canon. It is because Antonych introduced universal artistic values in his poetry that his poetry still has an impact. Indeed, this impact can be felt in the verse of still productive contemporary Ukrainian poets who debuted in three consecutive decades—Ihor Kalynets (the 1960s), Ihor Rymaruk (the 1970s), and Iurii Andrukhowych and Viktor Neborak (the 1980s).

As a poet, Antonych introduced the voice of the Other into Ukrainian literature. His poetic diction was formed by an experience and a heritage that were different from those of most other Ukrainian poets. The distinctive character of Antonych's poetic diction is determined by the poetics of liminality. Because of his rootedness in a bilingual environment and his extraordinary talent, he was able to transcend the Western Ukrainian literary canon of his time. He replaced this canon with his own, much more universal artistic paradigm—one that remained "native" but was no longer provincial.

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Mykhailo Rudnytsky—Literary Critic

Maxim Tarnawsky

In the relatively small circle of prominent Ukrainian literary critics, Mykhailo Rudnytsky holds a distinguished position. His stature derives from his apparent lack of ulterior motive and extrinsic¹ criteria in evaluating literary works and the history of literature. In Western Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s, this was a notable achievement. With Soviet ideologues promoting their peculiarly reductionist brand of Marxism on one side of the Zbruch, and Dmytro Dontsov and his followers measuring cultural achievement by the purity of its patriotic rhetoric on the other, Rudnytsky's categorical objection to all extrinsic criteria for measuring cultural quality certainly seems, at least in the context of the time, a refreshing alternative. Furthermore, Rudnytsky points out the failings of various ideologically motivated critics, both on the left and the right. Finally, he does not apologize for the various problems, failings, and inadequacies of Ukrainian literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, for readers today who seek guidance in negotiating the labyrinth of tendentious and misleading judgments that snarl and obstruct the path of Ukrainian literary criticism, Rudnytsky holds the spool of Ariadne's thread.

Of course, not every reader will accept Rudnytsky's views. Needless to say, the ideological critics whose views he explicitly rebuffed were not his admirers. Nor were their loyal disciples. Rudnytsky himself is not faultless, and some of the faults his critics have ascribed to him deserve serious

1. I use this term here in the traditional sense that it had in the age of the “new criticism,” that is, as a designator of criteria and perspectives that do not arise from the text itself, but are brought to it by the reader or the critic. Of course, contemporary literary criticism has largely rejected such a notion and does not condone the privileging of one approach to a text over another. Rudnytsky, however, would have rejected such permissiveness. He clearly distinguishes between evaluations that are authorized or justified by the text and those that are not.

attention. In particular, his sometimes casual judgments of the failings of Ukrainian literature in one dimension or another should be examined critically.

Among those who judge Rudnytsky's work critically is Mykola Ilnytsky, a knowledgeable critic particularly in the area of Western Ukrainian literary traditions. In his *Krytyky i kryterii: Literaturno-krytychna dumka v Zakhidnii Ukrainsi 20–30-kh rr. XX st.* (Critics and Criteria: Literary Criticism in Western Ukraine in the Twenties and Thirties of the Twentieth Century, 1998), Ilnytsky examines literary criticism in Western Ukraine in the interwar years and concentrates specifically on five critics: Leonid Biletsky, Dmytro Dontsov, Mykola Hnatyshak, Ievhen-Iulii Pelensky, and Mykhailo Rudnytsky. His evaluation of Rudnytsky is decidedly mixed. Ilnytsky praises Rudnytsky for the objectivity of his judgments and for introducing the Western Ukrainian reader to a variety of literary theories and movements. On the other hand, Ilnytsky criticizes many of Rudnytsky's specific evaluations and depicts Rudnytsky's theoretical work as hopelessly self-contradictory, anachronistic, and unsuitable for his time. I shall examine this appraisal of Rudnytsky below.

Rudnytsky's career had at least three distinct periods. In 1907, at the age of eighteen, he enrolled in Lviv University and came into contact with the Moloda Muza circle of Ukrainian modernist writers, which included, among others, Bohdan Lepky, Vasyl Pachovsky, Petro Karmansky, Mykhailo Iatskiv, and Ostap Lutsky. This literary environment clearly had a formative influence on Rudnytsky. Although their café meetings have been described as tense showdowns between the sentimental older writers and the sharply disparaging Rudnytsky, the young critic no doubt picked up much of his literary outlook in this modernist circle. Another formative influence were his studies abroad, at the Sorbonne in Paris and in London, where he absorbed the culture and intellectual climate of Western Europe.

The second period of Rudnytsky's career as a literary critic began in 1922 with his return to Lviv to assume a position at the underground Ukrainian university. Although his university career was, like the university itself, short-lived, he was a respected senior voice in Western Ukrainian literary life in the interwar period. After 1925 he was a correspondent of the Lviv daily newspaper *Dilo*, which frequently carried his literary articles, and a member of the editorial board of *Nazustrich*, a bimonthly literary and art journal.

This period was clearly the high point of Rudnytsky's career. It was during this time that his two major works came out. *Mizh ideieiu i formoiu* (Between Idea and Form, 1932) is a theoretical study of the foundations of

literary criticism. But his best known work, the work on which his reputation justifiably rests, is *Vid Myrnoho do Khvylovoho* (From Myrny to Khvylov, 1936), a study of the transition in Ukrainian literature from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Any evaluation of Rudnytsky's literary views must rest primarily on these two books. I shall limit my attention to them.

The third period of Rudnytsky's career as a writer falls outside the bounds of this essay. Following the conclusion of the Second World War, he remained in Lviv and continued to publish literary essays reflecting ideologically correct views. During periods of relative thaw, particularly in the 1960s, he wrote more freely, producing mostly memoirist prose with little of his former analytical style and evaluative temperament. The chief contributions of the third period are two volumes of retrospective essays, *Nenapysani novely* (Unwritten Stories, 1966) and *Neperedbacheni zustrichi* (Unforeseen Encounters, 1969). Rudnytsky died in 1975.

An examination of the content and style of Rudnytsky's two major works from the 1930s reveals four significant principles that characterize his work. These are not necessarily ideas that he consciously chose to implement, but rather familiar strands in his thought that the reader of his works will readily detect. The four principles can be labeled with terms that reveal their essential nature: judgment, aesthetics, psychology, and Europe. As the discussion below will make clear, these four principles are not easily separable. As one would expect from a sophisticated critic, the ideas reflected in Rudnytsky's four principles are the product of a reasonably consistent outlook on culture and particularly literature.

The underlying theme of all of Rudnytsky's literary writing is value. He is more of a literary critic than a literary scholar, theoretician, or historian. The first purpose of all his writing about literature is to express a judgment, to make an evaluation, to indicate whether a given work of literature is good or bad or, more precisely, which qualities of a given work are successful, appealing, and valuable and which are not. This purpose holds true even in his two books, although in each the underlying premise seems to suggest a different approach.

Mizh ideieu i formou is obviously a theoretical work. But it is a theoretical survey of the modes of judgment, not of the nature of literary art or the inherent relation between art and value. In the introduction to the book Rudnytsky notes that, to some degree, he is writing in reaction to the common suggestion that before one begins to criticize, one should formulate the fundamentals of criticism and its methods. He compares this suggestion to the demand that a physician expound the principles of biology, physiology, and his diagnostic methods before giving a diagnosis. The analogy is

telling. Rudnytsky sees his role as a critic as more than a mere ordering of literary stocks on the ticker tape of winners and losers. For him the question of literary values belongs in the domain of public health. The title of the first chapter in the book, “Nash riven dyskusii” (The Level of Our Discussion) makes it clear, that Rudnytsky feels something is wrong. He notes a number of problems, among them the lack of professional standards among critics. Above all he complains that judgments are made on the basis of improper criteria, specifically on the basis of Marxist or nationalist ideologies.

In his focus on value and its proper determination, Rudnytsky is, like his brother Ivan and sister Milena, more a journalist than a scholar. He is essentially involved in a contest to shape public opinion and public taste. Ironically, although Rudnytsky explicitly states that the value of literature should not be tied to its social function, he cannot resist the temptation to establish social functionality for the intrinsic, aesthetic criteria he is advancing.

Despite the fact that the intelligentsia and cultural elite of the post-World War II Ukrainian communities in North America and Europe were largely transplanted from interwar Galicia, studies written outside Ukraine about the interwar period in Ukrainian cultural development leave much to be desired. For different reasons, little scholarly literature on the cultural climate of interwar Galicia was published in Soviet Ukraine. From this standpoint alone, Ilnytsky's *Krytyky i kryterii* is a valuable contribution. As he points out, the cultural atmosphere of the time gave rise to a public debate on the future direction of Ukrainian literature. In the first decade after the First World War, Ukrainian culture experienced a rapid expansion of its horizons. The relative freedom in Soviet Ukraine made possible a dramatic outburst of creativity in many different directions. Concurrently there was growth on a somewhat smaller scale in Western Ukraine. This situation prompted questions about the nature of Ukrainian culture and the role of literature in society. In Soviet Ukraine the state put an abrupt end to the cultural discussion at the beginning of the 1930s. But in Western Ukraine, despite repressive measures by the Polish authorities, the public debate on culture and literature continued.

In *Mizh ideieiu i formoiu* Rudnytsky described this debate as a three-way contest. First, among the contenders were the nationalists, represented chiefly by their leader and ideologue Dmytro Dontsov on the pages of *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* (renamed *visnyk* after 1933). Next were the Catholic writers and critics, who were also nationalists in their cultural outlook, but who tempered their patriotic and aesthetic judgments with Christian ethics. This group of authors included Mykola Hnatyshak, Havryil Kostelnyk, and

Ievhen-Iulii Pelensky and was associated with the journal *Dzvony*. The third group consisted of the so-called liberal critics, who were not agreed on a single program but, in general, gave priority to aesthetic rather than political or religious values in literature. Their organ was the journal *Nazustrich*, and their ranks included Osyp Bodnarovich, Vasyl Simovych, Sviatoslav Hordynsky, Bohdan Ihor Antonych, and Mykhailo Rudnytsky.

That such a debate took place testifies to the vibrancy of cultural life in interwar Galicia. In this debate the “liberals” were somewhat at a disadvantage, for they were caught in an obvious logical inconsistency. A party that holds aesthetic values to be independent of social utility places itself outside a debate on which criteria for evaluating cultural products are of greatest social benefit. Herein lies the peculiarity of Rudnytsky’s argument for aesthetic criteria. Like his nationalist opponents, Rudnytsky argued that because of a certain set of historical circumstances, Ukrainian literature and culture are backward and provincial. To overcome this problem Ukrainian literature has to be judged according to general aesthetic criteria. To justify his aesthetic criteria, however, Rudnytsky fell back on the political and social interests of the Ukrainian people. In the cultural debate of the 1930s, the social function of art and aesthetic values was a widely recognized presupposition that he could not but accept.

Another aspect of Rudnytsky’s insistence on evaluation is evident in his incessant stream of complaints about the various failings of Ukrainian literature and individual authors. Readers who have endured the hagiographic tone of partisan Soviet and nationalist literary criticism and the patriotic revivalism of the post-Soviet era shall find Rudnytsky’s iconoclasm refreshing. When he writes, “Myrny bored us, and if we didn’t cast aside his books it was because we were reading them with a pencil in hand as a source of ethnographic material,”² students, no doubt, quietly cheer. The number of such frank, acerbic judgments by Rudnytsky is surprisingly large: Ivan Franko’s prose is an interesting experiment but largely a failure;³ Marko Vovchok’s biography is far more interesting than her writings;⁴ and Lesia Ukrainka should have written a diary, like Mariia Bashkirtseva, rather than plays.⁵ Besides such unconventional value judgments, there are some serious observations on the history of Ukrainian literature. None is more serious or more important than the claim that the literary styles that

2. *Vid Myrnoho do Khvylovoho* (Lviv: Dilo, 1936), 137.

3. *Ibid.*, 168.

4. *Ibid.*, 57.

5. *Ibid.*, 201.

historians ascribe to Ukrainian literature by analogy with other European literatures are largely fictitious: they often represent no more than a handful of writers,⁶ lack essential features, and never gain the momentum to inspire wide emulation.⁷

These negative judgments were prompted by a period of Ukrainian history that saw nothing but failure in its recent past. The political mood in interwar Galicia found expression in the writings of conservative ideologues like Viacheslav Lypynsky and Dontsov, who proposed new political strategies to replace the discredited, leftist ideas of the past. Culture, too, was measured in this spirit, and it was held that there is a connection between the literature of the preceding cultural period, particularly the populist-inspired literature, and the failure of Ukrainians in both the cultural and political arenas. The prescriptions for a new literature that were proposed in interwar Galicia were intended to give Ukrainian culture the European recognition it had failed to achieve in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

In this context it is interesting to note Mykola Ilnytsky's reaction to Rudnytsky's negative judgments. While on the whole his account of Rudnytsky's views is objective, he is clearly displeased with a number of Rudnytsky's stronger condemnations: the suggestion that Panas Myrny is not as good a prose writer as the weakest of his Russian contemporaries and the claim that Ivan Karpenko-Kary takes a back seat to the Russian playwright Aleksandr Ostrovsky. Ilnytsky chastises Rudnytsky for his inability to see the stylistic periods that historians of Ukrainian literature, notably Dmytro Chyzhevsky and Mykola Zerov, clearly discerned. These disagreements fall within the bounds of normal debate, and I have no reason to insist that one or the other has the better argument. But when it comes to Ilnytsky's comments on Rudnytsky's assessment of Franko, I believe they are biased. Like many serious readers, Rudnytsky is not overly kind to Franko. His judgment of Franko's prose and the poem "Moisei" (Moses) are particularly severe. Franko's prose is an interesting but unsuccessful experiment, and his "Moisei," says Rudnytsky, "is terribly inartistic." Ilnytsky and others are certainly entitled to disagree with this judgment of Franko, but Ilnytsky's reaction emphasizes criteria that undermine his position:

We do not wish to make any accusations against the author of this truly unusual claim, but the impression arises that he lived not in the explosive atmosphere of Lviv but rather in some distant overseas villa. Perhaps, allegiance to the doctrine of art's uninvolvement in worldviews (*bezsvitohliadnist*) and non-

6. Ibid., 118.

7. Ibid., 123.

engagement with ideas (*pozaideinist*) can extend to such lengths?! And yet, even after the Second World War the author of *Vid Myrnoho do Khvylovoho* found followers: the above-mentioned Ihor Kostetsky wrote in his foreword to a volume of translations of Stefan George's poetry that Ivan Franko does not exist as a phenomenon of literary style.⁸

Whether "Moisei" is viewed from overseas villas or from within Lviv's explosive situation, Ilnytsky does not provide any reason why that work should be regarded as an aesthetically successful poem or why Franko's prose should be considered masterful. The reference to Kostetsky's famous quip is gratuitous and apparently meant to tar Rudnytsky with a conspiratorial brush, for Ilnytsky's disagreement is with Rudnytsky, not Kostetsky. Ilnytsky is apparently unnerved by the mere suggestion that Franko might not be great in all his endeavours. His reaction to Rudnytsky in this instance seems motivated by patriotic fervour.

Another kind of misunderstanding is evident in Ilnytsky's criticism of *Mizh ideieiu i formoiu* for the absence of any references to structuralism. While it is certainly true that in the 1930s the structuralist circles in Prague, with their Ukrainian connections, were producing some of the most innovative work in literary theory, Rudnytsky may have failed to refer to this movement not because of an oversight, although that is possible, but because of his focus on systems of valuation. The list of literary theories examined in his work is specifically focussed on those that provide a basis for discriminating literary value: Hippolyte Taine, Marxism, nationalism, Henri Bergson, Benedetto Croce, and so forth. The structuralism of OPOIAZ or the Prague Circle can illuminate many aspects of a literary work, but it does not yield evaluative criteria, or at least it was not conceived with this purpose in mind. Structuralism is essentially a descriptive approach, whereas Rudnytsky is examining evaluative approaches.

The second token of Rudnytsky's approach to literature is aestheticism. As we know, he was a junior colleague of the Moloda Muza group of modernist Western Ukrainian writers. The legacy of his involvement in this group was a life-long attachment to the principles of modernist aesthetics. The first principle of all Rudnytsky's literary judgments is that they must be intrinsic, that is, grounded in the qualities of the work itself. In Rudnytsky, as in all Ukrainian modernism, this position was inspired by the rejection of populism, which predominated in the literature of the late nineteenth century. By the mid 1930s, however, such anti-populist rhetoric should have been

8. Mykola Ilnytsky, *Krytyky i kryterii: Literaturno-krytychna dumka v Zakhidnii Ukrainsi 20–30-kh rr. XX st.* (Lviv: VNTL, 1998), 73–4.

anachronistic. The major figures of Ukrainian modernism had fallen silent long ago. But with socialist realism blossoming in Soviet Ukraine and Dontsov and his nationalists enforcing their own brand of reductionism, Rudnytsky returned to his modernist roots to combat these ideologically grounded systems of evaluating literature. This part of Rudnytsky's thought is most readily acceptable to readers, since it corresponds in great measure to well-established modernist canons. It is also the cornerstone of his theoretical views on idea and form, the titular subjects of his first major work.

Mizh ideieiu i formoiu is an extended essay on the need to judge literature by its own immanent criteria. Rudnytsky examines a number of competing critical orientations before setting out his own ideas on the nature of a literary work. His ideas are presented clearly, but they are not formulated with sufficient sophistication to constitute an original and significant theory of art. In their own time Rudnytsky's ideas met with a hostile reaction from Bohdan Ihor Antonych, who argued that the notion of idea in Rudnytsky's book is completely incomprehensible because Rudnytsky tries to encompass in it both emotional and rational impulses from both the author's and the reader's perspective.⁹ There is certainly merit in Antonych's charge, which is repeated by Ilnytsky.

The concept of idea in Rudnytsky's monograph is not defined as carefully as it should be, and the word itself is used somewhat loosely throughout the book. But a careful reading of his lengthy definition of it makes clear that Rudnytsky's "idea" is not equivalent to "content."¹⁰ He deliberately replaces the traditional pairing of form and content with idea and content to emphasize the distinction between everything that belongs within a work (its form *and* content) and those "abstract concepts," those "magisterial thoughts" (*providni dumky*), that are in no way embodied or contained in the work but are the initial cause of its creation and are conveyed by it to the reader. Ilnytsky calls this an Aristotelian theory. Perhaps it is better understood as a Platonic one, because for Rudnytsky literature is an embodiment or a projection of ideal forms.

Rudnytsky's notion of idea stems from a general theory of creativity that posits an initial motive for an author's self-expression. To "express" one's idea is to give it form and content in the substance of a literary work. The quality of a literary work depends not on the nature of the idea (this is what

9. Bohdan Ihor Antonych, "Mizh zmistom i formoiu," repr. in *Nauka i kultura: Ukraina* (Kyiv: Znannia, 1990), 24: 235–9.

10. *Mizh ideieiu i formoiu* (Lviv: Dilo, 1932), 167–70.

is wrong with Marxist and nationalist criticism), but on the author's ability to translate his idea into form and content. What, then, makes one work better than another? According to Rudnytsky "the value of a work lies in the value of the experiences to which it leads."¹¹ In other words, the value of a work can be measured through the complexity and depth of the experiences it recreates for, or elicits from, its reader. From the bulk of Rudnytsky's work it is clear that in his view the idea behind much of Ukrainian literature was essentially a social program, or at least a critique of social conditions.

Psychology, the third token in Rudnytsky's repertoire, is a necessary ingredient of any judgments based on the experience of the reader. An evaluation of this experience is in itself a measure of the reader's psychology. This, of course, is the reason for the variability of judgment. Different readers may experience a work of literature in different ways, at different depths, and with differing understanding.

Psychology is important not only on the receiving end of the experiences in a literary work, but in their production as well. This is an area in which Rudnytsky is particularly effective as a critic and as a close reader of literary texts. In *Vid Myrnoho do Khvylovooho* he set himself the task of examining "some traits of the psychology of our writers who worked at a time when the literature of the nineteenth century was moving in the direction of greeting the next century."¹² He tackled this task in at least two ways. Among the most memorable aspects of this book are the wonderful psychological sketches Rudnytsky paints of his subject authors. They include several instances of considerable insight and psychological understanding. The portrait of young Ahatanhel Krymsky, which is based on the hero of Krymsky's novelette *Andrii Lahovsky*, is a gem. This was a time, says Rudnytsky, when the professor and researcher of Arabic folia had not yet subdued the poet: "When Krymsky left Moscow and left behind his youthful spleen, he observed the world around him with the serene gaze of a Japanese diplomat who remembers the poetry of cherry orchards and colourful dawns but concentrates on hieroglyphs in foreign languages."¹³ Rudnytsky's portrait of Volodymyr Samiilenko is equally insightful and convincing:

[Samiilenko] resembles Black Sea chumaks who hauled salt with their oxen. The ancestor of such a chumak, having spent time among various peoples and learned languages, would have known a great deal more about the world than you would guess by looking at his Cossack appearance. But the personality, to

11. Ibid., 177.

12. *Vid Myrnoho do Khvylovooho*, 8.

13. Ibid., 182.

be sure, would have been the same: peaceful, careless, lazy, and curious. But how would you get through to it to tap its talent?

Many a chumak would have been a born poet. The steppe, sun, melons, river—he would spend weeks silently admiring nature, but when he would start telling stories, there would be no stopping him, there would be no end or pause to them.¹⁴

Rudnytsky's psychological portraits are not only amusing to the reader. His purpose in sketching these portraits is to approach an understanding of that creative moment that transforms idea into form. And almost invariably Rudnytsky finds that many of the authors he is studying come up short at precisely this moment. They are unable to project a substantial part of their feelings, experiences, or reactions into their works. Because of their intense concentration on extrinsic, usually social, goals, Ukrainian authors fail to project their individuality into their works. They are consistently more interesting than their works.

In this regard Rudnytsky's portrait of Lesia Ukrainka is very telling. It is deliberately crafted to challenge Dontsov's famous reference to her as the only man in Ukrainian literature in her time. Rudnytsky turns this formula on its head, describing Lesia as "so feminine as if life itself were too brutal for her, and yet she cannot adapt to its rough tedium nor find the strength for its great impulses. Perhaps this is the first reason why she forces herself from an early age to overcome her femininity, to prepare herself for the struggle."¹⁵ This disciplined reaction against one's own individuality, argues Rudnytsky, produced the stifled, lifeless forms that characterize Lesia Ukrainka's plays and Ukrainian literature of the populist period and continues to his own day. For Rudnytsky psychology is a necessary component of what the author must transfer into his or her work. The individuality of an author, her ability to recreate her psychology in the literary work, is what makes the literary form valuable. Where this individuality is deliberately stifled in favour of what are perceived to be higher goals, the literary form suffers. Unless a writer endows her work with an element of her own personality, the reader is unlikely to judge the work highly.

The fourth and last token on Rudnytsky's game board is Europe. This is the Europe of a-thousand-year-old Ukrainian mythology, the Europe of high culture and civilization, of Shakespeare, Goethe, Beethoven, Dickens, Balzac, Maupassant, Heine, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Novalis, Ibsen, Keats, Byron, and so on. In short, it is the Europe where the cultural and intellectual grass

14. Ibid., 189.

15. Ibid., 196.

is always greener and where civilization finds its yardstick. But it is also the Europe of Rudnytsky's personal experience. It is the atmosphere, style, and brisk intellectual climate of the Sorbonne. It is the deep and wide resources of the British Museum. It is the continuous stream of cultural debate on the pages of daily newspapers from a few dozen cities in a wide array of languages. It is, moreover, a tradition of respect for individualism and freedom. It is also an imperial sense of destiny and pride, a tendency to consider one's own culture superior to all others and to translate that cultural superiority into a moral category. This is where Ilnytsky sees the overseas villas.

Rudnytsky's Europe is all of these and more. But through a simple and inescapable dialectic it is also a marker of his extraordinary, patriotic attachment to Ukrainian culture. Throughout his writings Rudnytsky is always comparing Ukrainian culture, literature, and authors to other cultures, literatures, and authors. This is a natural consequence of his first token—the need for judgment. But Rudnytsky's judgments always assume that European culture is superior to Ukrainian culture. Ukrainians are always catching up and never quite make it. There is, according to Rudnytsky, a hierarchy of cultures that is determined by their maturity: "Every [national] literature, together with its [literary] criticism, develops gradually through stages of maturity, much like a person, and in its earliest stages it must depend on pedagogy. And yet the rebirth of national literatures in the nineteenth century has shown that even the smallest nation, such as the Dutch, the Danes, or the Norwegians, thanks to the culture of other nations, can produce two or three writers to match the writers of the greatest literatures."¹⁶ The notion that cultural advances are possible only through interaction with the cultures of more mature nations does not sit comfortably with the notion that great art is the product of individuals who have the freedom to create. The very notion of mature nations immediately pushes Rudnytsky's otherwise aestheticist perspective back into the domain of social obligation. This idea is very similar to the notion of the "great literature" developed by Ukrainian émigré nationalists after the Second World War. In both instances, it offers an alternative scale of values that competes with pure modernist aestheticism.

Rudnytsky's critical thought is not a thoroughly developed philosophy of literature. Neither is it a random collection of disjointed thoughts. The four key areas of his thought—judgment, aesthetics, psychology, and Europe—combine to form a workable scheme for evaluating a great variety of issues and problems in Ukrainian literature in the early twentieth century.

16. Ibid., 16.

Despite some internal contradictions, Rudnytsky's scheme offered an alternative to pure ideological criticism and helped to shape the compromise between patriotic and modernist principles that eventually came to characterize émigré literary judgments. In this regard, Mykhailo Rudnytsky is still valuable reading, particularly in contemporary Ukraine, where compromises such as his are not often part of the public debate about literature.

The First Space Voyages in Ukrainian Science Fiction

Walter Smyrniw

For decades there have been several inaccuracies and misconceptions about the evolution of Ukrainian science fiction. One of them pertains to the first depiction of space flight. In the annals of Ukrainian literature, Volodymyr Vladko¹ is cited as the first author to portray an interplanetary journey, in his novel *Arhonavty Vsesvitu* (Argonauts of the Universe), first published in 1935. This seemed an irrefutable historical fact, at least for those who subscribed to the notion that Ukrainian science fiction emerged in the late 1920s and early 1930s and evolved only within the general framework of Soviet Ukrainian literature. However, this is rather a myopic perception of the development of Ukrainian culture and literature. On examining the Ukrainian publications that appeared in Western Ukraine and abroad, one discovers that several important works were published before the advent of Soviet Ukrainian science fiction.² It becomes quite evident that Vladko's novel was not the first Ukrainian science fiction dealing with an interplanetary voyage. In fact the first depiction of space flight in Ukrainian literature

1. A Soviet Ukrainian author, Volodymyr Vladko (1900–74) was born and educated in St. Petersburg. From 1917 he was employed by various newspapers, later becoming a correspondent for *Pravda* and *Literaturnaia gazeta*. He embarked on his literary career in the 1930s, publishing works in praise of the Soviet economic and technological undertakings during the First Five-Year Plan. At the same time he began writing science fiction: by 1967 he had published two collections of science-fiction stories and six novels.

2. Among these works are Pavlo Krat's *Koly ziishlo sotsie: Opovidannia z 2000 roku* (Toronto: Robitnyche slovo, 1918); Mykola Chaikovsky's *Za sylu sotsia: Fantastychne opovidannia dlia molodi iz nedalekoho maibutnoho* (Lviv: Ukrainske pedahohichne tovarystvo, 1925); and Myroslav Kapii's *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei: Povist* (Lviv: Novyi chas, 1932).

occurred three years earlier, in the novel by Myroslav Kapii, *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* (The Land of Azure Orchids, 1932).³

It is not difficult to discern that Kapii's novel was excluded from the history of Ukrainian science fiction because of ideological reasons. With the advent of socialist realism in the 1930s, Soviet Ukrainian literature, including science-fiction, was subject to ideological formulas prescribed by the Soviet regime. Authors were required to produce "science fiction with imminent aims" that extolled the prevailing ideology and depicted both the goals and achievements of Soviet socialism in the present and the near future.

Beginning his literary career in the early 1930s, Volodymyr Vladko unreservedly embraced the existing Soviet ideological and literary precepts. This can be seen in all of Vladko's science fiction of the 1930s, especially in his celebrated *Arhonavty Vsesvitu*.⁴ In this novel the author extols the virtues of Soviet collectivism, which culminates in the building of a spacecraft that flies to Venus and returns with a new metal "ultragold." Vladko's unswerving loyalty to Soviet ideology and the Party line ensured successive printings of *Arhonavty Vsesvitu* (eight editions between 1935 and 1961), laudatory reviews, and claims to being the first depiction of space travel in Ukrainian literature.⁵

By the same token, Soviet ideology played an important role in excluding Kapii's *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* from the repertoire of

3. Myroslav Kapii (1888–1949) was a Ukrainian author and translator. He was born in the village of Kotsiubynka into the family of a teacher. He graduated from Lviv University in 1914, and thereafter he was employed as a teacher of foreign languages at high schools in Western Ukraine, Poland, and Vienna. During the 1900s he wrote a number of poems, sketches, and short stories, which were published in various periodicals. Kapii was a member of the Logos association of Ukrainian Catholic writers. He was active as a translator, publishing a number of translations of such authors as Mikhail Lermontov, Aleksandr Kuprin, Henrik Ibsen, Rudyard Kipling, Heinrich Heine, and Honoré Mirbeau. He also translated two works by Jules Verne, *Les enfants du capitaine Grant* and *Le chanceller*. The extent of Kapii's interest in other science science-fiction writers is not known, as to date very little information is available about him.

4. Volodymyr Vladko, *Idut robotari: Sotsialno-fantastichna povist* (Odesa and Kharkiv: Molodyi bilshovyk, 1931); *Chudesnyi henerator: Naukovo-fantastichna povist* (Kyiv and Kharkiv: Derztekhydav URSR, 1935); and *Arhonavty Vsesvitu: Roman* (Kharkiv and Odesa: Dtyvdyav, 1935).

5. Mykola Pyvovarov, "Naukovo-fantastichnyi zhanr v ukraïnskii literaturi," *Vitchyzna*, 1954, no. 10: 143. See also Volodymyr Vladko, *Tvory v piaty tomakh* (Kyiv: Molod, 1970), 1: 10, 403; *Istoria ukraïnskoi literatury u vosmy tomakh*, vol. 7 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1971), 75; and *Ukraïnska literaturna entsyklopediia* (Kyiv: Holovna redaktsiia Ukrainskoi radianskoi entsyklopedii im. M. P. Bazhana, 1988), 1: 338.

Ukrainian science fiction and prevented literary critics from acknowledging that this novel contained the earliest Ukrainian depiction of a space journey. While Kapii did not convey an overtly anti-Soviet sentiment, his novel was nevertheless incompatible with the prevailing Soviet ideology for several reasons. First of all, Kapii belonged to the Logos association of Catholic writers in Polish-ruled Western Ukraine. The religious publications of this association were, of course, anathema to the atheistic Soviet regime. Moreover, Kapii's *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* was set in a twenty-first-century independent Ukrainian state ruled by an autocratic hetman. Furthermore, in his novel Kapii also alluded to several Ukrainian historical figures, such as Hetmans Petro Doroshenko and Ivan Mazepa, President Symon Petliura, and the "heroes of Kruty,"⁶ and depicted all of them, contrary to Soviet historiography,⁷ in a positive light. Even worse, Kapii did not mention the existence of the Soviet Union either in the past or in the imaginary future.

Although ideology played a major role in the evaluation of Ukrainian science fiction, the features it concentrated upon are less significant than the conceptualization and the range of imagination displayed by the science-fiction writers. Among other things, this includes the exploitation of various notions derived from previous fictional depictions of space journeys, such as the design of the spacecraft and their propulsion systems, the destinations of the trips, and their purpose. In their own ways, both Kapii and Vladko provided some interesting and diametrically opposed accounts of voyages to the planets in our solar system.

As he embarked on his depiction of a journey to Mars, Kapii was evidently familiar with some science fiction on this topic and with the important astronomical observations of the planet made in the nineteenth century. In 1877 the Italian astronomer Giovanni Schiaparelli (1835–1910) spotted on Mars a pattern of lines, which he called *canali* (channels). Subsequently his term was mistranslated into English as "canals," and his discovery was construed as evidence of intelligent life on the planet. Speculation about life on Mars was promulgated by the American astronomer Percival Lowell (1855–1916). After studying the planet for many years through a powerful telescope, Lowell set forth in great detail his observations

6. Kapii, *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei*, 11, 13, 24, 158.

7. During the Soviet regime Hetmans Doroshenko and Mazepa were denounced as traitors, and Petliura was condemned as a bourgeois-nationalist and a counter-revolutionary. The "heroes of Kruty" were troops of a Ukrainian student battalion that was crushed at Kruty on 30 January 1918 defending Kyiv from a Bolshevik force led by M. Muravev. They, too, were stigmatized as traitors and counter-revolutionaries.

and arguments in many magazine articles and his books *Mars* (1895), *Mars and Its Canals* (1906), and *Mars as the Abode of Life* (1908). He persistently claimed that Mars was inhabited by an older and more advanced culture than ours, inasmuch as the Martians had the knowledge, machines, and energy resources to construct a network of canals encompassing the entire planet. Describing the topography of the planet, he claimed that it was a cool, arid world with large red deserts and areas of vegetation and a thin atmosphere capable of sustaining life.⁸ Kapii obviously paid close attention to the available studies of Mars, because in *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* he outlined not only the accepted theories about its physical properties, but also the various studies of the planet from the seventeenth to the twentieth century.⁹

In the wake of the nineteenth-century astronomical studies, a number of science-fiction authors composed various journeys to Mars in which the planet was described in accordance with Lowell's pronouncements. Kapii's description of the Martian landscape and atmosphere also bears close resemblance to Lowell's paradigm and to some literary devices employed by earlier science-fiction writers. But Kapii managed to add a number of personal touches and national nuances. Among them was the belief that in future Americans would play the leading role in a manned mission to Mars.

In *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* the *Queen of Virginia*, the first interplanetary spacecraft, is built in the United States and launched from the state of Virginia. The mission was financed by a private consortium of five American multi-millionaires. But in spite of the exaltation of American technology and financial resources, Kapii also underscores that the Mars project could not have been possible without international co-operation. For example, he points out that the "flexible metal" for the American-built spacecraft was discovered in Siberia by an Englishman and that its atomic propulsion system was invented by a Lithuanian physicist. Also, the spaceship is manned by an international crew: a British astronomer, an American engineer, and a Norwegian explorer. Moreover, as the plot unfolds, a Ukrainian astronomer plays an important role in the craft's return from Mars.

In Kapii's novel the purpose of the journey to Mars is to establish contact with its intelligent inhabitants. The mission is based on most recent observations through a powerful telescope that confirm not only the presence of water and a breathable atmosphere on Mars, but also of buildings that

8. The hypothesis that Mars has an adequate amount of oxygen to sustain advanced life forms was refuted only in 1976, when American Viking probes revealed that Mars was very cold, virtually without an atmosphere, and devoid of vegetation.

9. *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei*, 50–2.

were obviously erected by an advanced civilization. According to plan, the *Queen of Virginia* is expected to reach Mars in eight days and the crew is to spend ten days on the planet. When a year goes by without any messages from the crew, the mission is deemed a disaster.

Vladko's conception of the space journey was quite different. He maintained that only the Soviet Union would have the financial resources to build a spaceship capable of a return voyage to Venus and that this would be accomplished through the collective efforts of Soviet scientists and engineers. Other countries would watch and play no part in this endeavour. The crew of the vessel would be comprised of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds, but all would be loyal Soviet citizens. The purpose of the mission to Venus would not be to establish contact with alien beings, but to explore the planet for rare minerals and, if possible, bring back some "ultragold," a valuable commodity, for the Soviet state. Vladko explained at great length that "ultragold" was not a fictitious substance, but a metal envisioned in the periodic table of the eminent Russian scientist Dmitrii Mendeleev. Moreover, there is no contact with intelligent Venusian life forms in the novel, because Vladko subscribed to the notion that the planet was at a primitive stage of development.¹⁰

The two authors also differ in their depictions of the role Ukrainians play in the first planetary voyages. In Vladko's novel Ukraine's involvement is mentioned only in passing: Ukraine produces the "atomic fuel" for the rocket, but even here she shares the credits with Russia. As Vladko puts it, the institutes of physical chemistry in Leningrad and Kyiv "produced almost simultaneously the new kind of atomic fuel."¹¹ As a rule, the author lauds the entire Soviet Union rather than its constituent republics for launching the first interplanetary spaceship. Although Vladko does not specify the national identity of the crew members, the reader can infer their ethnic origin from their names: Vadym Sokil and Halia Ryzhko are evidently Ukrainian, Mykola Ryndin is Russian, and Van Lun (who speaks with an accent) is of Asian ancestry. What Vladko emphasizes in his heroes is their professionalism and Soviet patriotism.

10. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many astronomers and science-fiction writers believed that Venus had a thick permanent cloud layer and a breathable atmosphere. However, a series of probes that the Soviet Union sent to Venus, beginning in 1967, revealed that the atmosphere of this planet is comprised mostly of carbon dioxide (about 95 percent) and its surface temperature is 475°C. Under these conditions no life on Venus is possible.

11. Vladko, *Arhonavty Vsesvitu*, in his *Tvory*, 1: 134.

Kapii gives a different account of his characters' ethnic background and Ukraine's involvement in the first mission to Mars. While he endorses the need for international co-operation in building and manning the spacecraft, he reserves an important role for Ukraine in the spaceship's return. Ihor Kharitonenko, a brilliant Ukrainian astronomer, builds a sophisticated optical device for detecting motion in space that enables him to observe a tiny object moving from Mars towards Earth, to identify it as the "lost" spaceship, and to calculate its landing site near Kyiv. A Ukrainian becomes the harbinger of good news, and Ukraine becomes the centre of world attention. Ukraine is besieged by foreign news media, diplomats, scientists, and the American engineers who built the spacecraft. Moreover, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences plays a vital role in processing the information brought back from Mars. Thus in Kapii's novel Ukraine fulfils a modest but important role in the final stage of the interplanetary mission.

In the context of the history of Ukrainian science fiction, Kapii's *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* is much more representative of the genre than Vladko's work, which is grounded in Soviet ideology. Nevertheless both authors manage to address a number of interesting and unprecedented notions in Ukrainian science fiction. Each writer deals in his own way with the unknown, with the unpredictable encounters with life forms on other planets.

Vladko's depiction of the life forms on Venus is predicated on the notion that Venus is at an earlier stage of geological development than Earth. Hence it is home to many of the species that inhabited Earth eons ago. On the basis of astronomical studies, the crew of Vladko's spacecraft anticipate primitive forms of life on Venus. Still, they are not prepared for some of the creatures they encounter. No sooner do the "Argonauts of the Universe" land than they are confronted by strange prehistoric beasts of enormous size. The animal that first attacks them is so huge that it topples their spaceship. As they explore the planet in their spacesuits, the crew are attacked by insects the size of the human hand, large armour-plated subterranean creatures, butterflies big enough to carry off one of them, and an aggressive form of vegetation resembling a "gigantic mushroom" that can smother and crush them. By the end of the novel the reader is satiated with the grotesque patterned mostly on prehistoric creatures. Moreover, by dealing with subhuman creatures, the author bypasses the interesting problem of communicating with intelligent alien life forms.

The adventures experienced by members of Kapii's expedition to Mars are much more challenging and interesting. After crash-landing in a mountainous region of Mars, the crew of the *Queen of Virginia* find that the atmosphere of the planet is thin but breathable. As they venture beyond their spacecraft, they

traverse a seemingly endless desert and unexpectedly come upon a strange form of vegetation resembling large blue orchids that induces uncontrollable terror in them. Overpowered psychologically, the earthlings flee.

Then the crew of the *Queen of Virginia* face the daunting task of communicating with humanoid aliens. At first the earthlings are reassured at the sight of similar beings, but, try as they might, they fail to communicate with the Martians. When everything else fails, the newcomers offer the natives cognac, and soon the parties begin communicating by gestures. The Martian shepherds realize that the earthlings need assistance and lead them to the village elders who summon rescue aircraft from the nearest urban centre.

The need for effective communication becomes more urgent in the city. Gestures, diagrams, and drawings are helpful but inadequate, so the visitors embark on an intensive study of the alien language. Only after mastering it are they able to understand the culture and history of their hosts. Most surprising is the discovery that the Martians are actually descendants of earthlings who migrated from the continent Atlantis when it sank into the ocean. The only indigenous life forms on Mars are the fear-inducing “blue orchids.”

In both novels the explorers must cope with unforeseen developments and changes in their plans of return. In *Arhonavy Vsesvitu* the crew of *Venus-1* have to divert a river in order to float their spacecraft to an ocean from which it can blast off into space. In *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* the crew face even a greater problem: their spacecraft is severely damaged during the landing on Mars and cannot be repaired. In order to return to Earth they must construct another vehicle. The most difficult task is to obtain the co-operation of the Martians and teach them how to construct the spaceship. Thanks to their high intelligence and advanced technology the former Atlanteans build a copy of the *Queen of Virginia* in a year’s time. Another surprising development is the crew’s concession to the monarch of Mars that he and his daughter have the priority in returning to Earth.

Although Kapii depicts an advanced civilization while Vladko opts for a prehistoric period, both authors have recourse to ancient myths in their portrayal of future space journeys. Vladko not only alludes to the mythical heroes who sailed with Jason on the Argo in quest of the Golden Fleece, but also summarizes the Greek myth and links it with his main plot by asserting that the “contemporary Argonauts of the Universe expect to be no less successful than the ancient Argonauts of the Greek myth.”¹² Whereas Vladko employs the myth of the Golden Fleece as an archetypical model, Kapii utilizes the legend about Atlantis quite differently.

12. Ibid., 63–4.

Kapii's conjecture that not all of the inhabitants of Atlantis perished in the geological cataclysm that sank the continent¹³ is based in part on Francis Bacon's utopian novel *The New Atlantis* (1627), which describes how with their advanced science and civilization some Atlanteans survived and resettled on Bensalem Island in the Pacific. In *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* the Atlanteans' journey to Mars is more than a human task—it is divinely inspired. An Atlantean elder named Askold is told in a vision: "I shall turn away my face from the people who do not listen to its preachers and to my prophets and destroy this land that has been like a paradise for the inhabitants." The voice instructs him how to "build three large vessels that can fly in space" and assures him that some Atlanteans will be saved, because: "I do not wish to destroy my people completely."¹⁴ Kapii does not identify this deity by name, but tells us that the Atlanteans pay homage to this deity at "the altar of the sun."

From these details it is evident that Kapii modified Bacon's version of the Atlantis legend and linked it with biblical episodes such as Yahweh's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the salvation of Lot and his family, Noah's building of the ark, the forty-day deluge, and the salvation of a remnant of humankind and the animal kingdom. Kapii's blending of the Atlantis legend and some biblical motifs with then-current scientific theories about the Martian environment is indeed imaginative and, on the whole, quite successful.

Another similarity between *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* and *Arhonavty Vsesvitu* lies in serious lapses in the narrative flow and in various structural flaws. In Vladko's novel, the story is disrupted by long lectures or discourses on scientific and technical matters, as well as by outright ideological propaganda. The weakness in the novel's narrative design was duly noted by Soviet literary critics. In his discussion of Ukrainian science fiction, Mykola Pyvovarov pointed out that in Vladko's work "the development of the plot follows a well-known and very outdated pattern: there are questions and answers, arguments, long and boring reports and lectures."¹⁵ To this one should add that there are too many coincidences in the novel. For example, it is by chance that Halia Ryzhko succeeds in hiding in the spacecraft just before liftoff and that the spaceship, damaged by a meteor, succeeds in landing on Venus. Similarly Halia just happens to find some "strange stones"

13. *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei*, 149–51.

14. *Ibid.*, 151.

15. Pyvovarov, "Naukovo-fantastichnyi zhanr v ukrainskii literaturi," 152.

that contain a new radioactive material called “infraradium,” and Vadym Sokil just happens to come across some “ultragold.”

The structural shortcomings in *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* are less obvious, but the novel is not free of glaring flaws. Kapii fails to connect or justify some of the events in the novel; for example, the landing of the *Queen of Virginia* in Ukraine rather than somewhere else. He never explains how the blue orchids induce fear in those who approach them—by telepathy or by some other exotic means. Moreover, there is not even a hint as to why the Atlanteans cannot rebuild the spaceships that brought them to Mars or how the Atlantean king and his daughter learn to pilot the spaceship without learning the language of the earthlings. These coincidences and loose ends leave the critical reader unsatisfied with the narrative.

In spite of structural shortcomings, the novels by Kapii and Vladko are important milestones in the evolution of Ukrainian science fiction. Their imaginary space journeys to the neighbouring planets were a new and vibrant theme that departed from the down-to-earth innovations expounded in socialist-realist science fiction. Their flights of fancy went well beyond inventions such as Dmytro Buzko’s unbreakable glass for undetectable tanks and other weapons (in his *Kryshťal’nyi krai* [The Crystal Land], 1935), or Maria Romanivska’s cloud control for irrigating parched agricultural regions (in her *Zahnuzdani khmary* [Tamed Clouds], 1936) and wind-driven electric power stations on large balloons high above the ground (in *Shakhty v nebi* [Shafts in the Sky], 1940), or Mykola Trublaini’s tunnel between Moscow and Vladivostok for faster transportation and military strategies (in his *Hlybynnyi shliakh* [The Deep Route], 1948).

Against the background of such “science fiction with near aims” that predominated in Soviet literature, Kapii’s and Vladko’s space journeys stand out like two bright stars. For more than three decades, until the late 1950s, they were the only depictions of space travel in Ukrainian science fiction. During that time only Vladko’s work was known in Soviet Ukraine, and on the whole the reading public, especially young readers, was not stingy with praise for *Arhonavty Vsesvitu*. According to Vladko, he received almost three thousand letters from Ukrainian science-fiction buffs.¹⁶ His novel was not only continually reprinted in Ukrainian, but was also translated into several languages.¹⁷

16. Volodymyr Vladko, “Filosofiya fantastyky,” *Radianske literaturoznavstvo*, 1966, no. 8: 27.

17. Into Russian in 1939, into Serbian in 1959, into Croatian in 1961, and into Japanese in 1961. Excerpts from the novel have also been published in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia,

It is a pity that Kapii's *Kraina blakytnykh orkhidei* was not available to readers in the Soviet Ukraine. If it had been, Kapii would likely have been duly acclaimed as the progenitor of space voyages in Ukrainian science fiction, not only because his novel appeared in print three years before Vladko's, but also because it contained some of the motifs that became prominent in the depictions of space journeys by Vasyl Berezhny, Oles Berdnyk, and a host of other Ukrainian science-fiction writers in the 1960s. Like Kapii, they dealt with problems pertaining to communication with extraterrestrial aliens and resorted to legends, myths, and even religion to give their plots credibility and coherence.

It is high time that literary historians reassess the role of Volodymyr Vladko in the evolution of Ukrainian science fiction and recognize Myroslav Kapii's pre-eminence as the author of the first space-travel novel in Ukrainian literature.

(Post)Modernist Masks: The Aesthetics of Play in the Poetry of Emma Andiievska and Bohdan Rubchak

Maria G. Rewakowicz^{*}

In his 1968 portrait of the New York Group of Ukrainian poets, Jurij Solovij depicted Emma Andiievska wearing a mask. According to him, she alone, among the poets in the group, evoked the image of a person who likes disguises. This image, however, is not a product of Solovij's fancy, but rather a reflection of the attitude Andiievska herself cultivated and assumed in her poetry. Her third collection, *Ryba i rozmir* (Fish and Dimension, 1961), is case in point. It includes a chapter of her own poetry presented as translations of the works of two imaginary poets—Aristidimos Likhnos and Barubu Bdrumbhu. (To obscure the project even further, the latter happens to be a pseudonym of the fictional John Williams.) The playfulness of such a literary mystification is so pronounced that it cannot escape notice. No wonder Solovij made Andiievska wear a mask in his portrait.

Johan Huizinga, a leading theorist of play, underscores the secrecy with which play loves to surround itself. He states: "The 'differentness' and secrecy of play are most vividly expressed in 'dressing up.' Here the 'extraordinary' nature of play reaches perfection. The disguised or masked individual 'plays' another part, another being. He *is* another being. The terrors of childhood, open-hearted gaiety, mystic fantasy and sacred awe are all inextricably entangled in this strange business of masks and disguises."¹

* This paper was presented at the Thirty-first National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in St. Louis, Missouri, 19 November 1999.

1. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon, 1955), 13.

Andiievska is not the only poet of the New York Group to have toyed with the ludic and all its tacit implications. Bohdan Rubchak, for example, perhaps more subtly and less noticeably, has matched Andiievska's playful poetic exuberance with his own treatment of poetry as a creative, intellectual, and interactive histrionic game.

The purpose of this investigation is twofold. On the one hand, I shall trace the internal evolution that these two poets underwent in their treatment of the play-element; on the other, I shall attempt to pinpoint the shifts in their poetic texts from modernism to postmodernism. The latter question presupposes that it is possible to localize the borderline between these two literary and artistic trends in the poetry of Andiievska and Rubchak and to show how it is aesthetically reified in the texts.

All modern discussions of play always involve a polarity of play and seriousness. This radical opposition, although questioned by a number of younger theorists of play,² is rather pervasive in the classic studies of Huizinga and Roger Caillois.³ Huizinga, for example, defines play as "a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely accepted but absolutely binding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy, and the consciousness that it is 'different' from 'ordinary life.'"⁴ He essentially identifies "ordinary life" with seriousness. In other words, one plays in a ludic spirit, but one faces ordinary life in a spirit of seriousness. Bohdan

2. Most notable among them is Jacques Ehrmann, the author of "*Homo Ludens* Revisited," trans. Cathy and Phil Lewis, in *Game, Play, Literature*, ed. Jacques Ehrmann. Special issue of *Yale French Studies* 41 (1968) (Boston: Beacon, 1971), 31–57. See also James H. Hans, *The Play of the World* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981; Warren Motte, *Playtexts: Ludics in Contemporary Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); and Ruth E. Burke, *The Games of Poetics: Ludic Criticism and Postmodern Fiction* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994).

3. I am referring here to his *Man, Play, and Games*, trans. Meyer Barash (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

4. *Homo Ludens*, 28. This definition seems to underplay the opposition play/seriousness. On p. 13, however, Huizinga provides another definition, which brings this opposition more to the forefront: "Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life as being not 'serious,' but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means."

Rubchak expressed this beautifully in his poem “V kimnati sta liuster” (In the Room of a Hundred Mirrors):

Часто я зодягаю пишні шати. Вони
щедробарвно блищать на мені
на мініятурній сцені мого інтимного театру.
Але у голім

білім світлі, між кущами камінного саду,
убрання зовсім сіріє, бліднє казкова маска, стікає
грим гротеску, і я
знову стаю собою.⁵

Although the play vs. seriousness opposition poses some problems,⁶ I find it a useful classificatory device that enables me to differentiate the poets of the New York Group according to the presence or absence of the play-element in their works. My understanding of this opposition is rather commonsensical. It is difficult not to read the poetry of Andiievska and Rubchak as somehow inherently diverting, especially in comparison to that of the other members of the group. A certain distancing and literariness, if not plain artificiality, permeate these two poets' texts. By and large such qualities are absent from the poetry of Bohdan Boychuk, Yuriy Tarnawsky, and Vira Vovk. For them poetry is existential and mingled with real life to such an extent that the boundary between life and art is blurred. That is not to suggest that their poetry is, for the most part, confessional or autobiographical, but it is fair to say that they feel and express in their texts the “heaviness” or absurdity of life. In that sense their poetry is serious rather than playful. And yet, as I am well aware, such a distinction poses another problem if one adheres to the conception of play Huizinga proposed.

5. I often put on ornate garments. They / colourfully glitter on me / on the miniature stage of my intimate theatre. / But in the naked // white light, among the bushes of the stone orchard, / the clothes fade completely, the fairy-tale mask pales, / the mascara of the grotesque runs, and I / become myself again (Bohdan Rubchak, *Krylo Ikarove: Novi vybrani poezii* [Munich: Suchasnist, 1983], 145).

6. Even Huizinga recognized this. At the beginning of *Homo Ludens* he states: “Examined more closely, however, the contrast between play and seriousness proves to be neither conclusive nor fixed. We can say: play is non-seriousness. But apart from the fact that this proposition tells us nothing about the positive qualities of play, it is extraordinarily easy to refute. As soon as we proceed from ‘play is non-seriousness’ to ‘play is not serious,’ the contrast leaves us in the lurch—for some play can be very serious indeed” (p. 5).

According to him, poetry (*poiesis*) is a play-function, and, moreover, it will never rise to the level of seriousness.⁷ In other words, it is inherently “extraordinary” and immutably removed from “ordinary” life. I believe this apparent contradiction stems from the double nature of play. It is both an activity rooted in intention and an outcome of such activity. If one accepts the broad view that all creative activity is animated by a strong ludic spirit, then all poetry can indeed be treated as a play-function. But even within such an assumption, one should be able to recognize that a playful activity does not necessarily lead to a playful outcome, or, to put it differently, play does not always result in a plaything.

Going back to Andiievska and Rubchak, I would like to point out that in addition to their shared interest in the play-element, they both seem to display a preference for traditional poetical forms such as stanza, metre, and rhyme (though imperfect—assonance, dissonance, consonance—rather than perfect); both also seem to exhibit a propensity to experiment with such classical genres as the sonnet. This return to tradition both in formal (poetics) and cultural (context/convention) aspects has some affinity, in my opinion, to what Linda Hutcheon describes as one of the defining principles of postmodernism, namely “the presence of the past.”⁸ She emphasizes, however, that to be postmodern such a turn has to be first and foremost critical and problematized rather than merely nostalgic. It is well established that play, parody, and pastiche lie at the core of the postmodern project. What concerns me here is not only the extent to which these attributes are present in the works of our two poets, but also the character of the playfulness they employ. Can it be called postmodern? Perhaps, notwithstanding all its postmodernist colouring, ideologically it is still deeply rooted in modernism.

So far I have focused on the similarities between Andiievska’s and Rubchak’s *ars poetica* because I wanted to set them apart from the other members of the New York Group. It would be a mistake, however, to think that their approaches to the play-element are the same, although on the level of language, i.e., on the level of experimenting with its materiality, especially sound, there is indeed a strong resemblance. Both poets espouse an alliterative technique in building a line and play with words for sound effects, thus often bracketing the meaning. This occurs often in Andiievska. For example:

7. *Homo Ludens*, 119.

8. *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 4.

Габою губиться сузір'я
Губою голубник порушили⁹

And in Rubchak too:

Віршам і снам не віп:
травур, та рев, та вир.
З варив розрив-трави
скроплений кожен вірш.¹⁰

I should point out, however, that on the whole that kind of wordplay is more characteristic of Andiievska's poetry than of Rubchak's.

As to the differences, in my opinion, they stem mostly from the different attitudes our poet exhibit toward the creative process itself. To some extent their attitudes coincide with what Nietzsche called the Dionysian and the Apollonian spirit: the first is instinctual, irrational, ecstatic, and unbounded, while the second is rational, restrained, mediated, and balanced. Measured with this yardstick, Andiievska's poetry belongs to the Dionysian camp, while Rubchak's is in the Apollonian one.

Roger Caillois follows Huizinga's model of play quite closely, except that he rejects the latter's insistence on agon as the essence of every play activity. Caillois turns his attention also to games, which Huizinga by and large ignores, and classifies them in four broad categories: agon (competitive games), alea (games of chance), mimicry (make-believe games), and ilinx (vertigo, or games dominated by confusion and disarray). What is useful in Caillois's work for my purposes is that he also introduces two attitudinal poles, or "ways of playing,"¹¹ that further qualify these four categories. They are *paidia*, characterized by turbulence, free improvisation, and fantasy; and *ludus*, identified with constraint, arbitrary rules, effort, and ingenuity.¹² These two attitudinal modes are somewhat similar to Nietzsche's famous opposition between the Dionysian and Apollonian ways of viewing the world. In my view, Andiievska uses the play-element more in the *paidia* mode, and Bohdan Rubchak more in the *ludus* mode. Andiievska's

9. A constellation lost in a shroud / The lip has disturbed the pigeon coop (*Kuty opostin* [New York: V-vo Niu-Iorskoi hrupy, 1962], 12).

10. Don't believe in poems and dreams: / mourning, and roar, and swirl. / With brews of magic herbs / each verse is sprayed (*Krylo Ikarove: Novi vybrani poezii*, 90).

11. *Man, Play and Games*, 53.

12. *Ibid.*, 13.

spontaneous, immediate, child-like associations contrast vividly with Rubchak's more structured, intellectualized, allusive poetic constructs.

Although these are the general tendencies, one can discern shifts in Andiievska's poetry from the more structured ludic to the more improvised "paidic" treatment of the play-element. Her "as if" translations in *Ryba i rozmir* are quite illustrative. In a letter to Bohdan Boychuk dated 21 December 1964, Andiievska calls her "Dionysia" (the cycle of poems by Aristidimos Likhnos) a "jest" (насмішка). Notwithstanding her comment about "Dionysia" ("це не еротика, а насмішка"),¹³ the cycle does invoke homoerotic themes. Moreover, her imaginary poets Aristidimos Likhnos and John Williams (Andiievska describes the latter as an African American born in Harlem) either depict the minorities (be it according to sexual orientation or race) or actually belong to them. In the early 1960s, when these texts were published, both homosexuals and African Americans were considered marginal groups. Playing with the notion of alterity on Andiievska's part is not coincidental. It very much reflects the feelings she and her colleagues experienced as young émigré poets realizing themselves in America. But that kind of structured, ideological playing is an exception rather than a rule in Andiievska's poetry. Her subsequent collections represent an incessant flow of metaphors, metonymies, and wordplay, all of them grounded in a "still-life" descriptiveness, discontinuity, and chance. Here are a few examples:

Мов ситі, бабку витягнувши з дельт
 Повітря й — замість булочки — на тацю, —
 Хай поруч море мокрим носом тиця
 У літку, щоб - ні лиха, ні недоль.¹⁴

Рожева губка, ніж, кілька рибин, —
 Не стіл — корова — інтер'єр сумирний,
 Де око — дійсність — в довгий накомарник
 Й поля — під себе — силові гребе.¹⁵

13. "This is not eroticism, but a jest." The New York Group Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York.

14. Like nets, having pulled a cake out of the deltas / Of air and put it on a tray instead of a roll— / Let the sea close by muzzle my calf / With a wet nose to spare me affliction and misfortune ("Morska terasa," in Andiievska's *Kavarnia: Poezii* [Munich: Suchasnist, 1983], 40).

15. A pink sponge, a knife, a few small fish, / Not a table—a cow—a serene interior, / Where an eye pulls reality and fields of force / Into a long mosquito net ("Stupeni kolyvan," in Andiievska's *Znaky. Tarok* [Kyiv: Dnipro, 1995], 142).

Bohdan Rubchak's toying with the ludic is not as conspicuous in his first collection *Kaminnyi sad* (The Stone Orchard, 1956) as in his more mature poetry. Nevertheless the seeds of playfulness had been planted at an early stage. Hence the poem "V kimnati sta liuster," quoted earlier, which opens this collection, already points to his awareness of a certain theatricality in all creative endeavours. Despite the fact that, on the whole, modernist, existential, and purely imagist qualities prevail here, the allusiveness, intertextuality, and playing with the cultural emblems of the past typical of Rubchak's subsequent poetry have their origin in this first collection. Here we find a reference to Shakespeare's Hamlet and to Mann's main character in the *Buddenbrooks* saga; we encounter hints of the traditions of both Athens (Orpheus) and Jerusalem (The Song of Songs). But this "presence of the past" or intertextual play is not parodic in nature. Rubchak's dialogue with key figures of both the west European (Balzac, Baudelaire, Goethe) and the native Ukrainian (Vyshensky, Kotliarevsky, Franko, Antonych) literary traditions, as well as his invocation of famous literary characters (Cassandra, Dante's Francesca, Faust, and Don Juan, to name just a few) all spring from veneration rather than the desire to subvert this grand humanist tradition. I discern in Rubchak's poetry a certain longing for continuity, an aspiration to preserve the link with the mentioned cultural riches. The poet often employs irony and, less often, the grotesque, but diffuses their subversive potential: the ironic tone that permeates his more recent poetry is used as a device for the playful probing of communicative possibilities between the text and the reader. For example, in the opening stanza of the poem "Poetychnyi khlib" (Poetic Bread) the premise about what poetry should be is immediately debunked with irony:

Такого хліба треба б замісити,
щоб в нім було і злетів, і покор,
щоб був ѹдою хворим, ѹддю ситим, —
та я ні пекар, ані прокурор.

The last stanza in this poem,

А волю світу — бидлову, обидну —
по віядуках мрії обійду
та й тополину виявлю біду
в неділю, після доброго обіду.¹⁶

16. One should knead such bread / so that it would contain both pride and humility, / so that it would feed the sick and poison the sated, / but I am neither a baker nor a

is a far cry from the metaphysical qualities ascribed to poetic activity in his early poem “Ars Poetica”:

Шукати лиш суть, лише голе буття шукати — суть буття.
 Відчувати простір: літ чорних птахів далеко,
 відчувати час: чіткі рисунки в чорних печерах,
 і абсолютним вітром розуміти свій день, поете.¹⁷

In the latter poem Rubchak alludes to the century-old modernist formula of “art for art’s sake” with a considerable dose of skepticism and sarcasm. Yet, I would argue, the poet’s mistrust of metaphysical substance both in life and in poetry, which is evident especially in his late oeuvre, does not have nihilistic or subversive undertones. On the contrary, Rubchak does not question the validity of the accepted order of things, whether on the moral or the aesthetic plane, but he does like to reveal its shortcomings. Moreover, his belief in the power of poetry, its transformative and almost transcendental quality, clearly betrays his modernist posture.

Rubchak’s foregrounding of the dynamic, interactive or communicative aspects of playful activity invokes yet another model of play: the one presented by Jacques Ehrmann. For Ehrmann play is economy, communication, and articulation, i.e., “opening and closing of and through language.”¹⁸ He further rejects the opposition of play and reality (or seriousness) as false and unproductive. “Each text contains in itself its own reality, which in essence (or by nature!) is put into play by the words which make it up.... In other words, the distinguishing characteristic of reality is that it is played.”¹⁹ In this model, culture, play, and game are all forms of communication. Players are at the same time subjects and objects of the play. What I find useful and valuable in Ehrmann’s theory is his insistence on the articulative relation of player to player, player to game, and game to world. Using this scheme as another classificatory tool, I would categorize Emma Andrievska’s poetry as one that privileges the dynamics between player

prosecutor. // And the world’s will—bovine, offensive— / I’ll pass by on the viaducts of daydreams / and reveal the poplar’s sorrow / on Sunday, after a good dinner (Bohdan Rubchak, *Krylo Ikarove* [Kyiv: Dnipro, 1991], 33).

17. To seek only the essence, to seek only bare existence is the essence of being. / To feel space: the flight of black birds far away, / to feel time: the distinct drawings in black caves, / and to understand your own day as the absolute wind, O, poet (Bohdan Rubchak, *Krylo Ikarove: Novi i vybrani poezii*, 171).

18. Ehrmann, “*Homo Ludens* Revisited,” 56.

19. Ibid.

(writer) and game (text), and Bohdan Rubchak's poetry as one that foregrounds the relation of player to player, i.e., the relation that is manifest in communication between the writer and the reader in the act of reading. By juxtaposing various types of discourse, by creating poetic puns that highlight the ambiguity of words, and by constantly forcing the reader to waver between poetry as communication of an idea or feeling separate from the text and the reader's awareness of how the text is generated by quirks of language rather than by real-life situations, the poet requires the reader to reconsider the reading process, forces her or him to participate in the creative process, and problematizes the conventional approach to the poet's texts. From this standpoint Rubchak's ludic poetry may well be part of a postmodernist project, although he never calls into question the universalist humanist conceptions of meaning and centre. Previous styles, works, and traditions are played with but never doubted; they are paraphrased yet, at the same time, cherished and accepted.

Unlike Rubchak, Andiievska seems by and large oblivious to the issues of reception. Hers is a world of self-contained poetic constructs, a world in which the word reigns supreme, even though dislocation, surprise, and ambiguity, which are so conspicuous in her oeuvre, frequently undercut the logical foundations of that word. However, this very faithfulness to the authority of the word, the acceptance of its centrality and autonomy, situates Andiievska's poetic output firmly in modernism. The playfulness of her poetry is the by-product of the game she seems to play with language itself. The intertextuality, which is so central to Rubchak, takes a back seat in Andiievska's *ars poetica*.²⁰ There can be no doubt that she is quite mindful of the postmodernist underpinnings of the contemporary cultural scene. For example, the poem "Prymruzeny my ochyma" (With Squinting Eyes), which opens her most recent collection, *Mezhyrichchia* (The Place between the Rivers), demonstrates Andiievska's view (no doubt ironic, judging by the title) of what postmodernism is all about:

Буття нема. січка-монолог

Речей. Скрізь замість цілого — частини.

20. But, it is by no means absent. Like Rubchak, she also displays a penchant for ancient Greek décor and Greek mythological figures (see "Dionisii" in her *Ryba i rozmir* and "Antychni reministsentsii" [Antique Reminiscences] in her *Arkhitekturni ansambl: Sonety* [New York: Suchasnist, 1989].) One can also discern in her poetry intertextual play with various kinds of folk literatures. But, again, I would argue that these tendencies are not as dominant as in Rubchak.

Єдиний відступ — барва-неврастенік.
Що — сірниками — селезінку й слух.²¹

This stanza ironically foregrounds the postmodern contesting of metaphysical premises. It also points to the postmodern preference for fragmentation and discontinuity rather than totality and continuity.

Yet another aspect that moves Andiievska closer to the modernist end on a continuum between modernism and postmodernism is her privileging of ethics. Throughout her poetic output she evinces a strongly defined sense of what is right and wrong, perhaps echoing Kant's categorical imperative. The typical postmodernist relativism in the sphere of ethics (which incidentally goes back to Nietzsche's perspectivism, i.e., his famous statement that there is no truth, only interpretations) is foreign to Andiievska. Herbert Grabes, for instance, asserts that "one of postmodernism's most prominent features is the striving towards a pan-aestheticism which reverses the subordination of aesthetics to ethics."²² Explicit in her prose, implicit in her poetry, the ever-present undercurrent of clearly defined moral values does not do justice to such a reversal, at least not in Andiievska's case.²³ Ethical issues are as important to her as aesthetics itself. Yet, notwithstanding the strong display of a moral centre, one can also easily argue that Andiievska's other tendency, the tendency toward open, associative, and indeterminate poetic texts with a plethora of incongruous juxtapositions of images, toward poetry as a playful process of exploring verbal fields rather than a presentation of a coherent viewpoint or an emotional reaction to some aspect of social or personal reality, place her squarely in the postmodernist camp.²⁴ Her oscillation between the poem as an exercise in verbal play in

21. There is no being. There's chopped-up monologue // Of things. Everywhere there are parts instead of the whole. / The only retreat is a neurasthenic colour / That burns the spleen and hearing with matches (*Mezhyrichchia: Sonety* [Kyiv: Vsesvit, 1998], 5).

22. Herbert Grabes, "Ethics, Aesthetics, and Alterity," in *Ethics and Aesthetics: The Moral Turn of Postmodernism*, ed. Gerhard Hoffmann and Alfred Hornung (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1996), 13.

23. For example, her 1961 collection *Ryba i rozmir* includes a chapter titled "Z tsyku pro dobro i zlo" (From the Cycle about Good and Evil). Ethical concerns permeate many of her poems, but they are often inconspicuous because of her uncontrolled verbosity.

24. Ihab Hassan, for example, posits indeterminacy, derived from Nietzsche's thought, as a basic feature of postmodernism. He describes this indeterminacy as embracing many features: the rejection of the human being as the measure of all value; the portrayal of the subject as a fiction; and the recognition of "facts" as perspectives or interpretations. See his books, *The Postmodern Turn: Essays in Postmodern Theory and Culture* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1987), 47–54; and *The Dismemberment of Orpheus: Toward*

which there is a clear disregard for meaning and the poem as semantically “loaded” paradoxically makes her poetry stylistically uniform and yet simultaneously diverse and complex. This double-edged, equivocal quality of her poems greatly contributes to the difficulty of convincingly classifying her work, especially her late poetry, as either modernist or postmodernist.

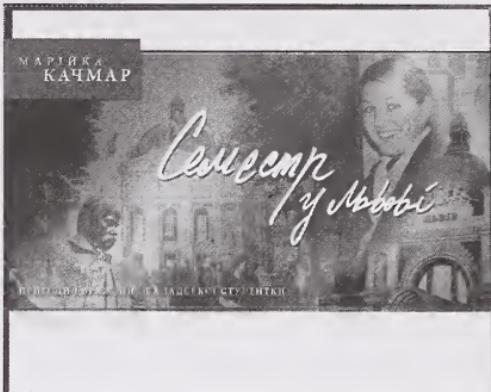
In spite of employing some typically postmodernist techniques, such as play, intertextuality, and irony, ideologically (or philosophically) both Ruchak and Andiievska are unable or, more likely, unwilling to subvert the metanarratives (to use Lyotard’s terminology) of the humanist tradition. Their position may best be defined as liminal with respect to modernism-postmodernism continuum. The masks they wear may look postmodernist, but the faces behind these masks are modernist.

a Postmodern Literature, 2d. ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 268–9. As I have shown in my “Elementy dehumanizatsii v poezii Emmy Andiievsкоi.” *Svitovyd*, no. 3 (1992): 13, 17, there is no doubt that Andiievska displays a tendency to expose the reality of the poem as pure fiction and makes her poems very impersonal and devoid of the human agent.

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Meditations on Stained Glass: Kholodny, Kalynets, Stus

Natalia Pylypiuk

According to the 1963 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the term “stained glass” designates windows that are coloured as well as pictorial. Generally it refers “only to glass windows that have been coloured by such methods as the fusion of metallic oxides into the glass, the burning of pigment into the surface of white glass, or the joining of white with coloured pieces of glass.” In short, stained-glass windows are translucent mosaics held together by lead. The earliest mention of windows that tell stories appears in an account about the reconstruction of the Rheims Cathedral under Bishop Adalbéron, from 969 to 988. But the oldest extant ones date from the mid-eleventh century and are housed in the Augsburg Cathedral.¹

The development of stained glass coincided approximately with the birth of the Gothic cathedral, and ever since then the art form has been associated with the mystical symbolism of light. On one level, it has served as a catechism on glass for the illiterate. On another, its sensuous qualities have inspired theologians and poets to view it as a contemplative medium for ascending from perceptible beauty to the imperceptible.² Until the early twentieth century, the art of stained glass was purely a phenomenon of Latin Christendom.

The Lviv poet Ihor Kalynets (b. 1939) made his debut in the mid-1960s as a remarkably mature artist. Among his works from this period, one poem

1. See the entry “Stained Glass,” signed by H. Rd., in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 21 (Chicago: William Benton, 1963), 291.

2. See the discussion in Heribert Hetler, *Medieval Stained Glass*, trans. M. Sherfield (New York: Crown, 1946). Also see Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, trans. Hugh Bredin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986).

in particular stands out because of its mastery and unusual subject matter. Titled “Vitrazhi” (Stained Glass), it combines religious and historical motifs in a manner that, in hindsight, was inappropriate for a young author writing in Soviet Ukraine. Interestingly, “Vitrazhi” was first published in the Communist Youth League’s journal of literature and current affairs, *Ranok*, on July 7, 1965. Subsequently it was included in *Vohon Kupala* (The Fires of St. John’s Eve, 1966), the first and only collection that Kalynets managed to publish officially in Ukraine before 1991.³

“Vitrazhi” belongs to an entire series of works concerned with returning “to the sources,” a theme that is especially prominent in Kalynets’s first clandestine collection, *Vidchynennia vertepu* (The Opening of the Christmas Puppet Play)⁴ and in works written after his arrest in 1972.⁵ This theme also runs like a silver thread throughout the oeuvre of his coevals, the so-called *shestydesiatnyky*, who diligently studied the monuments of Ukrainian antiquity and the proscribed legacy of the 1920s renascence.

Among the poets whom Kalynets and his friends read and critically discussed was Pavlo Tychyna (1891–1967). They found the modernist poetics and pantheistic vision of Tychyna’s early poetry fascinating and were especially attracted to the lead poem of his 1918 collection *Soniashni klarnety* (Solar Clarinets). This text, a marvellous manifesto of Tychyna’s symbolist credo, begins with the verse: “Не Зевс, не Пан, не Голуб-Дух,” ([I am] not Zeus or Pan or the Dove-Spirit). Its masculine speaker acknowledges having lived in a dream-like state (“Я був не Я” [I was not I]), surrounded by the chiton of creative darkness as well as the arms of a herald bearing good tidings.⁶ Then the speaker describes his self-discovery and fusion with a harmonious cosmos as well as a resplendent and resonant Other:

Прокинувсь я — і я вже Ти:
Над мною, підо мною

3. For this and other works composed up to 1972, including those written in the isolation cell prior to his trial, see Ihor Kalynets, *Probudzhena muza: Poezii*, ed. Olia Hnatiuk (Warsaw: Obiednannia ukraintsiv u Polshchi and Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991).

4. Although this collection had been approved for publication and was slated to appear soon after *Vohon Kupala*, a denunciation from the Lviv government prevented its appearance through official channels.

5. See the book *Nevolnycha muza* in Ihor Kalynets, *Slovo tryvaiuche*, ed. Eleanor Sologovi (Kharkiv: Folio, 1997), as well as subsequent poetry on pp. 227–536.

6. Pavlo Tychyna, *Soniachni klarnety: Poezii* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1990), 9, ll. 5–8. My translation.

ГоряТЬ світи, біжать світи
Музичною рікою.

[...]

Навік я візнав, що Ти не Гнів,—
Лиш Соня[ш]ні Кларнети.⁷

In most religions and cultures, light is a symbol for God and supernatural illumination. Let us recall, for example, the creation narrative in the Hebrew Bible: “God said, ‘Let there be light,’ and there was light. God saw that the light was good. God separated the light from the darkness, calling the light Day and the darkness Night. And there was evening and morning, the first day” (Genesis 1: 3–5).⁸ Read from this perspective, the awakening of the speaker in Tychyna’s poem intimates the dawning of a new sensory modality in his writings.

“Vitrazhi” by Kalynets is also imbued with light symbolism. Consider the poem’s first section and especially its last three lines, which announce the lyrical persona’s recognition and absorption of the luminous visages he observes:

Упали з аркових цілин
на мої очі, руки, плечі
мільйони сонць,
оправлених в щільник
з квадратів, сегментів, трапецій.
Мільйони сонць —
від радісно-палких,
жовтогарячих і червоних
до лагідних,
до блідо-голубих,
до ніжної прозорості півтонів.
І в синтезі мозаїки їх барв
і ліній легких і величних
я упізнав,

7. I awoke—and I was already You: / Above me, below me, / Worlds blaze, worlds flow / In a river of music. // [...] / Forever I recognized that You are not Wrath, / But Solar Clarinets (*ibid.*, ll. 9–12, 15–16).

8. This and all subsequent citations from the Bible are according to *The New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible* (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Co., 1957).

я в себе увібрав
святі від ясності обличчя.⁹

The next two sections of the poem reveal that the lyrical persona has been looking at concrete works of art, not at celestial bodies refracted through some medium metaphorically identified in the title as stained glass. His unitive experience with the source of the images occurs within an enclosed space, a church to be exact, rather than on Tychyna's cosmic plane. The transfiguration is completed once the speaker exits. But it is within the church that he assumes properties like those of vitreous matter and begins to refract upon the very images he contemplates:

І сам від того ніби скло
ропавсь прозорим і барвистим
рясним незліченим числом
маленьких та яскравих зблисків
на церкву в Ольжиній руці,
на Володимирові персти,
на книги мудрості ченців
зеленогорбого Печерська.
І вже палав, як самоцвіт,
я у Даниловій короні,
на Наливайковім лиці
запікся чорним згустком крові.
Я був усім на всіх і вся:
величчям, вірою і болем ...

Я вийшов з церкви —
і засяв
тисячолітнім ореолом.¹⁰

9. From the openings in the arches fell / on my eyes, hands, shoulders / a million suns / framed in a honeycomb / of squares, segments, trapezia. / A million suns— / from joyfully ardent ones, / hot yellow and red, / to mild ones, / to pale azure ones, / to transparent gentle semitones. / And in the synthesizing mosaic of their colours / and light, majestic lines, / I recognized, / I took into myself / the visages made holy by their brightness (Kalynets, *Probudzhena muza*, 42, ll. 1–16. My translation).

10. And from this, as though I were glass, / I shattered, transparent and colourful, / into innumerable many / small and luminous sparks / upon the church in Olha's hand, / upon Volodymyr's fingers, / upon wisdom books of the monks / from verdant and hilly Pechersk. / And I blazed like a gem, / I in Danylo's crown, / on Nalyvaiko's face / I burned into a black blood clot. / I was all in all men and all things: / majesty, faith, and

The speaker's transfiguration involves two steps. Through contemplation he first assumes and conjoins within himself the "majesty, faith, and grief" of the historical figures his sight has apprehended. This then endows him with the ability to emanate the light they transmit. When we recall that the effect of stained glass is created not by the coloured glass itself but by the *light* passing through it, we realize that the speaker's unitive exchange engages two types of nature: one "created," the other "creative." The interior setting—i.e., the church and the windows through which he perceives the light—represents the former. The external light, which is implicit in the poem, symbolizes the latter.

The stained glass in this poem depict historical figures associated with the introduction of Christianity to Kyivan Rus': Princess Olha, Prince Volodymyr the Great, and the monks of the Kyivan Caves Monastery. Given this context, the reference to the persona's glowing forth "with a millennial aureole" evokes the discourse of illumination that pervades Divine Literature. More concretely, the aureole brings to mind the story of Christ's Transfiguration on the mountain ("And his face shone like the sun, and his garments became white as snow" [Matthew 17: 2]), as well as the rich iconographic tradition it generated.

Light imagery in the gospels, albeit focused on Jesus, draws on the poetics of the Hebrew Bible. For example, the metaphorical discourse of the Johannine Prologue directly alludes to the creation narrative: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God; and the Word was God[...]. In him was life and the life was the light of men" (1: 1, 4). Subsequently in John's account Jesus also deploys the strategies of his predecessors, the authors of Genesis and the Psalms: "I am the light of the world. He who follows me does not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life" (8: 12). Yet another example of this imagery appears in the Apostle James's Epistle to the twelve tribes in dispersion: "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of Lights, with whom there is no change, nor shadow of alteration" (1: 17).

In "Vitrazhi" the speaker's epiphany takes place within the continuum of sacred history introduced to Rus' by Olha's personal conversion in 955. But, as the reference to King Danylo of Halych (1201–64) reminds us, this continuum was not always strictly Byzantine. Let us consider the entry in the Galician-Volynian Chronicle for the year 1253, in which Danylo's political union with Rome is discussed: "The Pope [Innocent IV] sent the same

grief // I exited the church— / and glowed forth / with a millennial aureole (ibid., ll. 17–33. My translation).

esteemed envoys, bearing a wreath, a sceptre, and a crown, which symbolizes royal authority and which they requested Danilo to accept from them as their own son.[...] Thus he received his crown from God, from the church of the Holy Apostles, from the throne of St. Peter, from his spiritual father Pope Nekentij and from all his bishops.”¹¹

Among the historical figures mentioned in the poem, the cossack Severyn Nalyvaiko does not come from the nobility. A Galician by background, Nalyvaiko served until 1594 in the retinue of the most powerful Orthodox magnate in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Volynian prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky. After leading a rebellion against Polish magnates in Right-Bank Ukraine, Nalyvaiko was captured, taken to Warsaw, and, in 1597, decapitated and dismembered.

The political histories evoked by the poem lead me to wonder whether there actually is a church with windows that depict such subject matter. If there is, is it Orthodox or Greek Catholic and when was it erected? Is “Vitražhi” merely a poetic construct?

* * *

In modern Ukrainian, the noun for stained glass is “vitrazh.” Derived from the French, it is a relative newcomer to the language. Seventeenth-century lexicographers do not attest to its use, or of any other special term designating the art. They do record various Ruthenian (i.e., Middle Ukrainian) terms related to glass and glass-making—for example, *sklianysa* (glass), *sklianyi sosud*” (glass vessel), *sklianyi* (vitreous), and *skliar”/hutnyk”* (glassmaker). Their Latin and Slavonic counterparts—*vitrum*, *stlianičsa* (glass), *vitreus*, *stlianyi* (vitreous), and *vitriarius/vitriarius*, *stliar”* (glassmaker)—were also known to Ukrainians educated in Orthodox confraternity schools, including the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium. But what term would they have used when speaking of the stained glass in neighbouring Roman Catholic and Protestant churches is a question that still requires research.

Vasyl Simovych, in his entry on the topic in *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva*, maintains that stained glass was known in Ukraine during the princely period. As evidence he adduces the phrase “okna try ukrašhena rymskymy steklami” from a chronicle account devoted to the Church of St.

11. Cited according to George A. Perfecky, trans. and ann., *The Hypatian Codex, Part Two: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, vol. 16/2 (Munich: W. Fink, 1973), 67–8. I have opened all bracketed information provided by Perfecky but retained his transliteration of Old Rus' names.

John Chrysostom in Kholm (today Chełm in Poland), which Danylo began building in 1259.¹² The unnamed document is, in fact, the Galician-Volynian Chronicle, and the passage in question, according to Mykhailo Hrushevsky's chronology, relates to the year 1255. The passage deserves to be cited at some length:

When Prince Danilo saw that God placed [Xolm] under His protection, he began to invite immigrants—Germans, Rusians, [all kinds of] foreigners, and Poles—[to the city]. Day after day they came—young people and artisans as, for example, saddle, bow, and quiver craftsmen and iron-, copper-, and silver-smiths [who had] escaped from regions under Tatar occupation. [Thus] life [began to pulsate] and the households, the field, and villages around the city grew rich. [Then Danilo] built the beautiful and majestic Church of St. John. The following is [a physical description of its] structure: [There were four] vaults—one vault from each end—[which] rested on four human heads sculptured by some artist and three windows adorned with Roman glass.¹³

While the last phrase—“three windows adorned with Roman glass”—is tantalizing, it remains hypothetical that the chronicler meant windows depicting motifs drawn from sacred history. In the cited passage, the absence of a specialized term for stained glass presents only part of the difficulty. The greater problem is posed by the fact that, as Hrushevsky demonstrated long ago, the Galician-Volynian Chronicle was composed in imitation of Greek chronographs. In fact, the penultimate sentence quoted above is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas. A subsequent passage, describing the ceiling of the Church of St. John Chrysostom, which I do not cite here, is modelled on the Chronicle of Hamartolus.¹⁴

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the apogee of stained glass as an art form in Western Europe. During this period Ukrainians maintained lively contacts with the West. But although the craft of glassmaking in Ukraine has been well documented, to the best of my knowledge there are no contemporary descriptions detailing the subject matter of windows in

12. “Vitrazhi,” in *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva: Slovnykova chastyna*, ed. Volodymyr Kubiovych, vol. 1 (Paris and New York: Molode zhyytia, 1955), 291. In her entry “Stained-glass windows” in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 5, ed. Danylo Husar Struk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 3, D[aria] Zelska-Darewych cites the passage that I have quoted in my introduction from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* without mentioning her sources, and repeats Simovych’s claim minus the relevant phrase from the chronicle.

13. Cited according to Perfecky, *The Hypatian Codex*, 75. All bracketed insertions belong to Perfecky. For a discussion of Hrushevsky’s chronology versus the dates given by the chronicler, see pp. 13 and 17.

14. Perfecky, *The Hypatian Codex*, 13 and 140, nn. 123 and 124.

Ukrainian churches or vernacular architecture. Thus when Simovych claims that Paul of Aleppo, a mid-seventeenth century traveller, saw churches and buildings in Cossack Ukraine embellished with windows of “coloured glass” (*kolorovym sklom*), I remain skeptical. We do not have sufficient evidence to conjecture that what the Syrian archdeacon saw in 1654 and 1656 were images of Christ, Mary, the saints, angels, or other Biblical heroes in coloured glass set in lead surrounds. The Polish translation of his travel account merely mentions “many glassed windows” or “attractive glass windows.”¹⁵ Once again, we are left with an account worthy of further investigation.

The first concrete evidence of the application of stained glass—as the art form I have defined in my introduction—in Ukrainian architecture is an illustration appearing in the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, which depicts a window created in 1907–10 by the painter Modest Sosenko (1875–1920). The work, housed in St. Michael’s Church in Pidbereztsi, Galicia, portrays a seated Christ blessing three children.¹⁶ Thus far I have not encountered any references to this piece or to any other stained glass by Sosenko.

The 1920s saw an unprecedented efflorescence of the arts in Ukraine. Among the poorly studied figures of the period is that of the chemist and painter Petro Kholodny, Sr. (1876–1930). Hailing from Pereiaslav, he was educated and worked in Kyiv, where he subsequently became a deputy minister of education during Ukraine’s brief period of independence.¹⁷ Among his works that survived both the war and the Soviet period is a set of six windows he designed for the Church of the Dormition in Lviv. Kholodny’s extant legacy deservedly attracted the attention of the *shestydesiatnyky*, including Kalynets.

The Church of the Dormition is shaped like a basilica that ends in a semicircular apse. There are three domes arranged across the east-west axis of the building, with the first encompassing the apse, which is illuminated by three arched windows. Facing the northeast, the first of these is a stained glass portraying the Archangel Michael, a work that Simovych reproduced

15. See Maria Kowalska, *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku w relacji arabskiego podróżnika Pawła, syna Makarego z Aleppo* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 46 and 51. This translation from the Arabic covers only the first leg of Archdeacon Paul’s journey through Ukraine, i.e., 1654. I have not encountered any mention of coloured windows in this part.

16. *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 5, colour illustration no. 4 opposite p. 4.

17. See the entry on Kholodny by Sviatoslav Hordynsky in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 2, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyč (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 485–6.

in the above-mentioned entry. The apse's central stained glass is located above the sanctuarium and depicts Mary the Protectress, a popular type of icon venerated in Cossack Ukraine as a symbol of divine and maternal succour. To the left of Mary, completing the apse ensemble and facing southeast, is a stained glass of the Archangel Gabriel.

The longer, southern wall of the church has three arched windows devoted to medieval and early-modern Ukrainian history. The figures in all three are turned toward the east and thus face Mary, the focal point of the apse. The first window features Saints Volodymyr (dominating in the foreground), Olha, Borys and Hlib (in the background), with what appears as cherubim hovering above. The central window depicts Saints Anthony and Theodosius of the Kyivan Caves Monastery. The latter presents Mary with a model of St. Sophia, Kyiv's cathedral church. Nestor the Chronicler stands between and slightly behind them, holding a vellum. In the background, to the left of this scholarly and ascetic trinity stands Prince Roman of Halych. Wearing a helmet and armour, he carries a shield emblazoned with a rook and a lion, the emblems of the Galician-Volynian princes. His son, Danylo, appears behind him. Whereas Volodymyr and Borys and Hlib wear fur-lined caps, Danylo is the sole person in the entire ensemble wearing a crown. In both of these windows the vibrant colours of the elaborate clothing that the various figures wear contrast sharply with the pale blue or rose of the angelic choirs.

The third stained glass in this group is devoted almost entirely to early-modern secular figures. Centrally prominent is Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky. Dressed in Renaissance garb, he kneels while presenting to Mary the first complete compendium of biblical texts published in Slavonic, the Ostrih Bible, which appeared in 1581 thanks to his patronage and support of many scholars. To his right stands the Galician nobleman Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny, who, as hetman, enrolled the Zaporozhian Host into Kyiv's Confraternity of the Epiphany in 1616–19. To Prince Kostiantyn's left stands the leader of the future Cossack rebellion against the Poles, a very youthful and unusually attractive Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. He holds the mace of his office. Suspended in mid air behind Prince Kostiantyn is a young angel (Michael?) dressed in a short tunic and sporting a medieval haircut “under the bowl” (*pid makitru*). He holds a sword and a shield emblazoned with what appears to be a foot soldier, the emblem of the Zaporozhian Host.¹⁸

18. I thank my colleague Andrij Hornjatkevych (University of Alberta) for kindly lending me his collection of slides taken at the Church of the Dormition in 1969 and for identifying some of the figures and describing the position of these windows vis-à-vis the

I do not know whether the Church of the Dormition was originally designed with stained glass in mind. Given that the central window in its apse is framed by decorative bas-relief, it is plausible that such was the case. If so, it would be interesting to discover what the subject matter of the original works was. Was it strictly religious? Were there any secular elements?

Kholodny's emphasis on individuals who introduced Christianity to Ukraine, promoted education, and struggled in defence of religious rights and "golden liberty" complements the historical significance of this particular building, which witnessed some of the most dramatic developments of early-modern Ukrainian culture. The church was constructed in 1591–1629 at the behest of the city's Confraternity of the Dormition. This guildlike organization was one of a wider network of institutions responsible for the education of Ruthenian youth and the vertical integration of Orthodox society in defense of the ancestral faith.

Located at the site of a structure that burned down during the fire of 1571, this building also represents one of the finest examples of Renaissance architecture on Ruska Street, to which Ukrainian burghers were confined, away from the homes and establishments of Lviv's Roman Catholic patricians. Worthy of note in this context is the fact that notwithstanding their confessional allegiance, members of the Lviv confraternity did not hesitate to work with Italian architects and craftsmen when erecting their new church building and adjacent campanile.¹⁹

Hinting at neo-Byzantinism, Kholodny's windows are utterly modernist in design and colour and in their statist view of Ukrainian history and energetic representation of its key players. In these works Galician-Volynian Rus is first a direct inheritor of the Kyivan legacy and then its valiant protector. Although he recedes in the background, Danylo wears the crown he received from the Pope. And as poetic justice would have it, he—the very prince to whom the chronicler attributes the introduction of "Roman glass"—becomes the subject matter of an art form that, until recently, was unknown

altar. The site of the Ukrainian Culture, Language and Literature Program at the University of Alberta features photographs of Kholodny's stained glass in the Church of the Dormition, which were taken in 2002 by my colleague Oleh Ilnytzkyj. Please visit <http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/~Ukraina/KholodnySite/Kholodny%20site.html>

19. For a brief history of the church's construction and the architectural ensemble that surrounds it, see Volodymyr Ovsiiichuk, *Arkhitekturni pamiatky Lvova* (Lviv: Kameniar, 1969), 38–44. A black-and-white reproduction of the stained glass depicting Prince Volodymyr appears on p. 44. For a colour view of the church, also called the Wallachian Church, and the adjacent campanile, i.e., the Korniakt Tower, see www.lviv.ua/old_churches/p1_gotyka.htm.

in the Orthodox world. Kholodny's stained glass does not depict any images or historical figures associated with Muscovy or its ruling dynasty. It is worth recalling at this point that he created his stained glass fifteen years before the Soviets set foot in Lviv.

* * *

According to Denis Kozlov, “[t]he Soviet public debate of historic preservation that reached a peak in the mid-late 1960s was often built upon a rhetorical contrast between the contemporary reality of scarcity and the images of bygone plenty.”²⁰ Echoes of this debate reverberated in Ukraine, affecting the activity of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, a voluntary organization that was organized in Kyiv in 1966 by the official wing of the *shestydesiatnyky*. The debate also reverberated, albeit not as strongly as in Russia, in Soviet Ukrainian publications of the period. It is in this context that we must appreciate the early writings of Kalynets and his coevals.

This is not the place to conduct a comparison between the situation in Russia and Ukraine during the 1960s. Nonetheless, it is safe to claim that Ukrainian scholars, journalists, and the intelligentsia at large—unlike their Russian counterparts—did not fully enjoy, or were prevented from enjoying, the emotional comfort of constructing their own past. Of direct relevance for my discussion is the contradictory treatment accorded to Petro Kholodny throughout this period.

A few examples in chronological order will suffice to make my point. In an article on the interwar period in the fifth volume of the magisterial *Istoriia ukrainskoho mystetstva* (History of Ukrainian Art), published in 1967, H. S. Ostrovsky criticized Kholodny for belonging to the “bourgeois nationalist camp” and idealizing “patriarchal antiquity and the ‘golden age’ of the princes and hetmans.”²¹ It is not entirely clear whether Ostrovsky had in mind the figures depicted in the Church of the Dormition, but this is quite plausible. Two years later Volodymyr Ovsiiichuk’s history of architectural

20. Cited according to the abstract of Kozlov’s paper “The Rhetoric of Yesterday’s Plenty: The Intelligentsia and the Public Debate of [sic] Historic Preservation in Soviet Society, 1953–91,” which appeared in the preliminary programme of the Canadian Association of Slavists annual meeting, 25–27 May 2001.

21. “Mystetstvo zakhidnykh oblastei Ukrayny ta pivnichnoi Bukovyny 1917–1941 rokiv,” in *Istoriia ukrainskoho mystetstva v shesty tomakh*, vol. 5, *Radianske mystetstvo 1917–1941 rokiv*, ed. V. I. Kasiian (Kyiv: Akademiiia nauk Ukrainskoi RSR and Ukrainska radianska entsyklopedia, 1967), 400.

monuments in Lviv described Kholodny's stained glass as "wonderful."²² When the second book of the fourth volume of *Istoriia ukrainskoho mystetstva* was finally published in 1970, it contained two references to the artist. The first, appearing in an article by Ia. P. Zatenatsky and Iu. V. Belichko, repeated Ostrovsky's negative remarks almost verbatim.²³ The second, found in an article by Ie. V. Horbenko, offered instead a very positive assessment: "P. Kholodny's oeuvre is a remarkable page in the history of monumental painting. His stained-glass windows for the Church of the Dormition in Lviv, created in 1924, attract attention with the mastery of their execution."²⁴

Only one black-and-white reproduction of a painting by Kholodny graces this richly illustrated six-volume history. Moreover, there is no attempt to analyze his legacy or that of other masters of his time. This is especially interesting if we consider that the 1960s saw a resurgence of the art of stained glass in Soviet Ukraine. During this period there was a conscious effort to continue the modernist tradition of incorporating stained glass into vernacular architecture. Among the contributors to this movement were dissident artists whose works were not always accepted by the authorities. One such case involved the stained glass that Opanas Zalyvakha, Alla Horska, and Liudmyla Semykina created for the vestibule of Kyiv State University. Their panel, depicting the poet Taras Shevchenko, was destroyed in 1964 on orders from Kyiv's first secretary of the Communist Party.²⁵

* * *

Ihor Kalynets was acquainted with Kholodny's works. As a matter of fact, one of his poems in the clandestine collection *Vidchynennia vertepu* bitterly censures a certain Professor Vasilii Liubchyk for destroying one of the artist's canvases.²⁶ Kalynets also lovingly studied the architectural monuments in the Lviv region and wrote at least two poems in which the Church of the Dormition is mentioned by name.²⁷ To the best of my knowledge, in

22. Ovsiiuchuk, *Arkhitekturni pamiatky Lvova*, 40.

23. See their article "Zhyvopys," in *Istoriia ukrainskoho mystetstva*, vol. 4, bk. 2, *Mystetstvo druhoi polovyny XIX–XX stolittia* (1970), 135.

24. See his article "Monumentalnyi zhyvopys," in *Istoriia ukrainskoho mystetstva*, vol. 4, bk. 2.

25. See Daria Zelska-Darewych's entry on Zalyvakha in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, 5: 808. For a black-and-white reproduction of the stained glass, see the entry on Semykina in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, 4 (1993): 588.

26. See Kalynets, *Probudzhena muza*, 108.

27. See the 1962 poem "Arkhitektura" (Architecture) in *Probudzhena muza*, 70. Also

the 1960s there was no other church in Ukraine with similar windows.²⁸ In a recent letter to me Kalynets confirmed my contention that his poem “Vitrazhi” was inspired by Kholodny’s magnificent work.

Although the poem mentions figures from each of the historical periods represented in Kholodny’s windows, it does not literally replicate their subject matter. Instead it is a meditation inspired by the spirit of their creator and—from the standpoint of Soviet orthodoxy—a subversive view of Ukrainian history. Kalynets might have chosen to substitute the commoner Severyn Nalyvaiko for Prince Ostrozky and the Cossack elite in order to protect himself from charges similar to those that official art historians had levelled against Kholodny. However, my mystical reading of “Vitrazhi” suggests that perhaps other, more spiritual considerations motivated the poet.

The unitive exchange that leads the poem’s speaker to become a refractive medium himself is reminiscent of the devotional exercises that mystics practice in pursuit of their ultimate goal—the attainment of vision, a theological metaphor for mystical union with God. One version of the exercise, proposed by Nicholas of Cusa, recommends that the aspirant gaze fixedly at any omnivoyant icon or portrait in order to recognize in it the ever-present and Absolute Sight of God. The underlying premise of his method is the fundamental article of faith, derivative from Genesis (1: 27), that each human being is made in the likeness of God. As Cusa explains, the visage of God “precedes every formable face and is the Exemplar and truth of all faces.” “Therefore, every face that can look upon [God’s] face sees nothing that is *other* than itself or *different* from itself because it sees its own Truth.”²⁹

see the 1977 meditation “Italiiske podviria. Poryvannia” (The Italian Courtyard. Aspirations), which was written in exile, in *Slovo tryvaiuche*, 507–15.

28. Upon completing this article, I obtained a catalogue of an exhibit that was held at the Ukrainian Museum in New York, which is devoted to the legacy of the Kholodny family. It contains a colour reproduction of the “Archangel Michael,” a stained glass that Petro Kholodny, Sr., created in 1929 for the Church of the Dormition in Mrazhnytsia, near Boryslav. It is a marvellous adaptation of the Vienna Secession style. (The subject matter of other stained glass in this church, if extant, is not discussed.) See *Three Generations of Cholodny Artists*, with an introduction by Maria Shust; English-language ed. Candie Frankel, Ukrainian-language ed. Nadia Svitlychna (Rochester: Babiuk Enterprises, 2001), 12. A very informative biographic commentary by Daria Darewych comprises the bulk of this publication. The bibliography on p. 30 suggests that in post-colonial Ukraine there has been a renewed interest in the works of Petro Kholodny, Sr. Cholodny is an alternative spelling of his surname.

29. Cited according to Jasper Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa’s Dialectical Mysticism: Text, Translation, and Interpretive Study of De Visione Dei* (Minneapolis: The Arthur J.

As far as I can ascertain, Kholodny's windows do not depict omnivoyant faces. Most of the individuals in his work look at Mary. But in the poem by Kalynets the multiple refractions ("a million suns") of the light shining through the windows is the all-embracing presence that first captures the speaker's gaze. It is through the agency of light that he recognizes the visages before him and begins to focus on them, blazing like a "gem." Interestingly, the Ukrainian noun *samotsvit* consists of two parts and literally means 'self-blossoming.' It denotes not only a precious or semi-precious stone, but also an independent or original exemplar (*samobutnii vzirets*).³⁰ It is this semantic encoding that allows the speaker to become "all in all men and all things: majesty, faith, and grief."

The first part of this admission intimates a passage in 1 Corinthians (15: 22–8) where Paul—after instructing his audience that "in Christ all will be made to live"—indicates that "God may be all in all." This last formula, mediated through the writings of Pseudo-Dionysus, influenced the thought of numerous theologians and mystics. Consider, for example, the last sentence in the following passage from Cusa's Vision of God:

You seem to create Yourself, even as You see Yourself. But You comfort me, Life of my spirit. For although the wall of absurdity stands in the way [...], as if creating could not possibly coincide with being created (since to admit this coinciding would seemingly be to affirm that something exists before it exists; for when it creates, it *is*—and yet it *is not*, because it is created), nevertheless this wall is not an obstacle. For Your creating is Your being. Moreover, Your creating and, likewise, being created are not other than Your imparting Your being to all things, so that *in all things You are all things [...]*.³¹

Kalynets, a Ukrainian Greek Catholic, could have read Paul. Moreover, he might have come across the ideas of Pseudo-Dionysus in the oeuvre of the Ukrainian mystic Hryhorii Skovoroda,³² who fascinated him before and after his arrest.

But whatever the source of the formulation, the speaker's statement is an acknowledgement that, in the unitive exchange, light—the creative agent—has imparted him with its being. The imagery of light in the poem does not merely refer to the physical element creating the effect of the

Banning Press, 1988), 724.

30. *Slovnyk ukrainskoi movy*, vol. 9 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1978).

31. Cited according to Hopkins, *Cusa's Dialectical Mysticism*, 739. My emphasis.

32. See Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist Press, 1987). For a discussion of Nicholas of Cusa and Skovoroda's contemplative strategies, see my article "Skovoroda's Divine Narcissism," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 22, nos. 1–2 (Summer–Winter 1997): 13–50.

stained glass. It also symbolizes, I propose, the metaphysical Entity—or to borrow from James's epistle, the "Father of Lights"—that endowed the human creator of the windows with his talent. The speaker of the poem also benefits from this "good gift." By meditating on the stained glass, he is led to apprehend and absorb the original Exemplar, the ever-present and Absolute Sight of God.

It does not appear that Kholodny depicted Christ in his stained glass for the Church of the Dormition. Christ's divine providence, however, is implicit in the icon of Mary the Protectress and in the historical trilogy of the south-facing windows. Kalynets's poem does not mention Christ either. I have already indicated that the emanation of radiance from the speaker at the end of the poem is reminiscent of the Transfiguration narrative. I will now propose that in becoming "all in all men and all things: majesty, faith and grief" the speaker mirrors not only the historical figures he perceives with corporeal eyes, but also the Logos he seeks through contemplation. It is perhaps for this reason, more than for any political consideration, that the speaker's blazing gaze burns "into a black blood clot" on Nalyvaiko's face. The allusion to the latter's gruesome execution allows him to complete a specular triptych in which, to paraphrase Nicholas of Cusa, the Exemplar is the truth of all faces. While the rulers Olha, Volodymyr, and Danylo and the monks of the Caves Monastery can remind him of Christ's royal lineage and faith, he needs Nalyvaiko's face to meditate on the passion and death of the Logos incarnate.

* * *

For the *shestydesiatnyky*, who sought emotional comfort in constructing Ukraine's history, the bleakest hour came after the arrests of January 1972. I will cite here only one example that is relevant to the present discussion on stained glass. The second edition of *Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia* (Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopedia, 1977–85)—like its much larger predecessor (16 vols.) of the 1950s—did not include an article on Kholodny. The very brief entry on "Vitrazh," after describing the various techniques of making stained glass, mentions its use in Gothic religious structures and in "Russian and Ukrainian architecture." It concludes by indicating that stained glass played a role in Soviet "palaces of culture, museums, metro stations, and exhibition pavilions."³³

It is the function of encyclopedias to convey to the general reader encapsulations of most recent scholarship. Albeit in attenuated and popularizing

33. See *Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia*, vol. 2 (Kyiv: Holovna redaktsiia Ukrainskoi radianskoi entsyklopedii, 1978), 326.

form, each entry participates in the construction of the past. Like stained glass in a shrine, each entry refracts the motifs found in other, larger texts and beckons the reader to study them directly. Despite their limited financial and institutional resources, Ukrainian encyclopedias in the diaspora were inclined to seek plenitude in antiquity. *Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia*—its prestigious board of forty editors notwithstanding—sought instead to elevate the meagre Soviet present by negating, often quite brutally, the Ukrainian past.

Had an entry on Kholodny been included in the second edition of *Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia*, it would have appeared in 1985 in the final, twelfth volume. That very year Vasyl Stus (b. 1938)—a poet and a friend of Kalynets—died in a special punishment cell, weakened by twelve years of various types of incarceration and penal labour.

I shall end my excursus by considering a poem that Stus included in the now famous *Palimpsesty* (Palimpsests), his last extant collection of poetry. This work also represents a meditation on stained glass.

Той образ, що в відслонах мерехтить,
повторюють дзеркалами дзеркала.
Це в прискалках душа твоя жахтить,
ледь народженна ачи з мертвих встала.
Вона збирає в стосики тонкі
усі твої розсипані відбитки,
мов золоті, з поховань скіфських, злитки
на поза всякий час і всі віки.
У синіх вітражах, б'ючи як млість,
вже золота спалахує подоба,
і біла пучка тягнеться до лоба,
і серце покріпляє благовість,
о милосердний Господи!
Знова
душа постала з тліну всежива!³⁴

34. That image, which shimmers at the unveilings, / the mirrors duplicate in mirrors. / It is your soul that blazes before your half-closed eyes, / barely born or perhaps risen from the dead. / It gathers into small, fragile pyres / all your strewn refractions / like gold ingots from Scythian burial mounds / to keep beyond all time and all the ages. / In blue stained glass, striking languorous, / the golden likeness now bursts into flames, / and white fingertips reach for the forehead / and good tidings strengthen the heart, / O, merciful Lord! / Again / the soul arose from death all alive! (Vasyl Stus, *Tvory u chotyrokh tomakh, shesty knyhakh*, ed. Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska [Lviv: Prosvita. 1999], 3, bk. 1:

This poem is one of three redactions of a sonnet that was composed under very unpropitious conditions, approximately between 1977 and 1979. At that time, having already served five years in a penal-labour colony, Stus was in compulsory exile (in Kolyma, Magadan oblast), working as a miner. It is more than likely that he knew and remembered Kalynets's meditation on stained glass. It is equally likely that during one of his visits to Lviv he had visited the Church of the Dormition. Stus last came to the capital of western Ukraine for a Christmas celebration in January 1972, on the very eve of the arrests that engulfed the USSR and were especially injurious to Ukrainian dissidents.

It is not my intention to propose that Kalynets inspired the writing of this poem, although this is not implausible. I merely wish to point out some of the similarities between the two works. Both "Vitrazhi" and "That image, which shimmers at the unveilings" validate Ukrainian culture by references to its historical past. To be sure, they do so in different degrees and through very different strategies. As we have seen, the speaker in the first poem contemplates representations of concrete historical individuals, evoking through them a history that spans seven centuries. His illumination is mediated through their spiritual legacy. In Stus's poem, on the other hand, the speaker's shattered soul gathers its refractions as though they were "gold ingots from Scythian burial mounds." Thus the speaker's cultural memory includes Ukraine's pre-Christian antiquity. The purpose of his devotional exercise is to reconstitute the self in a "blue stained glass" as an ardent icon. By implication, the exercise is Christian. This becomes more apparent when the speaker/addressee, upon recognizing the "golden likeness," begins to make the sign of the cross: "white fingertips reach for the forehead."

By using the pronoun of address (*you*) as a technique for internal focalization, Stus's poem imposes participation in the speaker's internal speech on the reader.³⁵ In this manner the reader's soul also gets to integrate its refractions, "to keep [them] beyond all time and all the ages." The latter phrase is an allusion to the liturgical phrase "Unto the age of ages" (*Vo viky vikov*). From the very beginning the speaker sustains the reader's

55. My translation). For other redactions of the poem, see Stus, *Tvory*, 3, bk. 2: 37; and Bohdan Rubchak, "Peremoha nad privoiu," *Suchasnist*, 1983, no. 10: 81. In the latter the last verse is not broken up into two; moreover, the poem is printed to reveal its two quatrains and two tercets.

35. Monika Fludernik, "Pronouns of Address and 'Odd' Third Person Forms: The Mechanics of Involvement in Fiction," in *New Essays in Deixis: Discourse, Narrative, Literature*, ed. Keith Green (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995): 99–129, esp. 106–7.

participation by means of the “epic” present of narration, which changes into the perfective only in the coda of the poem: “душа постала з тліну всежива” (the soul arose from death all alive).

Notwithstanding the regular surveillance and confiscation of manuscripts by the KGB and prison authorities, Stus’s extant oeuvre is very large. It is also resolutely introspective. With infrequent and, for the most part, subtle exceptions, Stus’s poems do not reflect on the political order that victimized him. In his poems a significant thread of enunciations are couched in Skovoroda’s symbolical matrix and uttered by a speaker concerned with partaking of the Inner.³⁶ This particular voice, the most independent among the voices created by Stus, is already discernible in works preceding his first arrest, especially the clandestine collections that date from the late 1960s, i.e., *Zymovi dereva* (Winter Trees) and *Veselyi tsvyntar* (The Joyful Cemetery).³⁷

In his contemplative exercises Stus’s mystical speaker frequently approaches a variety of specular sites: ponds, rivers, lakes, wells, sources, fountains, the sea, and even frozen or muddy waterholes. The collections *Chas tvorchosty* (A Time of Creativity, 1972) and *Palimpsesty* abound with water imagery. In some texts such imagery merely frames the speaker’s stream of consciousness or acts as a metaphor for literary sources or the flow of time. But there is a significant cluster of poems where a body of water functions as the place for encounters with the Self. Such sites are signposts on the journey toward regeneration: in other words, toward the restoration of the self’s divine image, the quintessentially mystical experience.

The mystical speaker in Stus’s poetry also engages vitreous objects, especially mirrors, as meditative media. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the poem I cited above is the only one that explicitly names stained glass. Like Tychyna’s “Solar Clarinets,” it describes an awakening and is part of a series in which the identity of the Other remains purposely indeterminate. In such poems, Stus plays with the Skovorodian idea that all of nature, including man, is a multi-faceted mirror reflecting the creator. “That image, which shimmers at the unveilings,” could easily be a reference to the sun appearing to a waking prisoner through his cell’s window. Let us recall, however, that in mystical poetry and in Skovoroda’s system the physically visible is merely a dream or a shadow of a higher, concealed reality. And,

36. I treat this topic at length in my article “Vasyl Stus, Mysticism, and the Great Narcissus,” in *A World of Slavic Literatures: Essays in Comparative Slavic Studies in Honor of Edward Mozejko*, ed. Paul D. Morris (Bloomington, Ind.: Slavica, 2002), 173–210.

37. Both collections appear in Stus, *Tvory*, 1, bk. 1.

as already indicated, light or sources of light in the mystical text are symbols for God.

In Kalynets's "Vitrazhi" the speaker, affected by the light, reciprocates by joyfully splintering into rays. In Stus's poem a reverse motion occurs as the speaker focuses on the gathering of strewn refractions, that is, on the reconstitution of a self that has been splintered by anxiety. Nonetheless his epiphany, like those described in the poems by Kalynets and Tychyna, leads to a unitive exchange between the categorical properties of the self and the macrocosm: "It is your soul that blazes before your half-closed eyes."³⁸ In the reciprocal gazing the soul of the speaker/addressee is led to recognize its image in "the golden likeness," that is, an icon not made by human hands, which simultaneously evokes a vision of the sun in the blue sky and of Christ's image on a stained glass. Thus, just as in the poems by Tychyna and Kalynets, creative and created nature are conjoined. Finally sensing regeneration, the speaker/addressee in Stus's poem raises the right hand in a prayer of gratitude.

The mystical speaker in Stus's poetry is not always confident whether he has chosen the right path. For example, in a poem from the *Palimpsesty* period that begins with the very symbolist verse "И пензель голосу сягає сфер" (And the voice's paintbrush reaches the spheres)³⁹, he explicitly posits the naïve innocence of prayer while voicing apprehension concerning "eternity" as a final destination. As he admits, this is "Бо там диточа пучка молитовна / затвердне зіркою" (Because there [in eternity] a child's prayerful fingertips / will harden into a star)⁴⁰. This type of wavering is not uncommon in the literature of the mystical journey. Of interest to us, however, is the fact that even when he is apprehensive, the voice of Stus's mystical speaker ascends toward the heavenly spheres.

* * *

The *shestydesiatnyky* took the meagre opportunities that the post-Stalinist thaw availed them to create a remarkable legacy. While they did not avoid experimentation, they strove to recuperate what was forgotten, unstudied, or forbidden. Different as they are, the speakers in the poems motivating this discussion share the same goal in that they both seek emotional comfort from

38. Stus, like his friend Kalynets, very much admired the early Tychyna. For a poem that combines mystical flight with a vision and also intimates Tychyna's symbolist poetics, see Stus, "I dil poplyv" (And the Valley Drifted) in his *Tvory*, 3, bk. 2: 58–9.

39. See Stus, *Tvory*, 3, bk. 1: 85, l. 1.

40. Ibid., ll. 8–9.

reconstituting the self. The fact that Ihor Kalynets and Vasyl Stus chose as a site for their reflections an art form associated more closely with Western rather than Eastern Christianity suggests that for them the edifice of Ukrainian culture opens its windows in both directions.⁴¹ In this sense their reconstruction of the past is both poetic and historically accurate.

41. Both Kalynets and Stus also liked and studied the poetry of Bohdan Ihor Antonych (1909–37), a western Ukrainian poet. Worthy of note in this context is Antonych's cycle "Vitrazhi i peizazhi" (Stained Glass and Landscapes). See his *Zibrani tvory*, ed. Sviatoslav Hordynsky and Bohdan Rubchak (New York and Winnipeg: Organization for Defense of Lemkivshchyna in America, for the Slovo Association of Ukrainian Writers in Exile, 1967), 51–66.

The Trope of Displacement and Identity Construction in Post-Colonial Ukrainian Fiction

Vitaly Chernetsky

One of the oldest and richest themes in literary traditions around the world is that of displacement, both in terms of more or less voluntary travel and involuntary emigration and exile. From such classic figures of exiles as Ovid and Dante to analyses of postmodern heterogeneous mass mobility in our increasingly globalized culture, physical displacement remains one of the key human experiences and frequently functions as a structuring trope in innumerable literary texts.¹ East European authors, for example, have penned remarkable explorations of the experience of displacement which has characterized this region for much of the twentieth century, especially in the form of imprisonment and deportation. (Among the most remarkable works of this kind is *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* by the late Yugoslav novelist Danilo Kiš.²) Contemporary critical theory likewise has presented some fascinating reflections on themes connected with the idea of displacement, for instance, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's discussions of the notions of deter-ritorialization and nomadology, and Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia.³

1. For a useful introduction to this trope's place in contemporary cultural criticism see Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

2. Danilo Kiš, *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich*, trans. Duška Mikić-Mitchell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980).

3. For the development of the concepts of deterritorialization and nomadology, as well as the related concept of the rhizome, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), and

It has been argued, however, that the paradigm of displacement acquires particular relevance in post-colonial contexts, that is, within the cultural condition that arose with the crumbling of modern colonial empires and the emergence of a multitude of newly independent nations in the post-Second-World-War era. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the notion of post-coloniality was embraced also by intellectuals in a number of newly independent post-Soviet nations and, perhaps, nowhere more eagerly than in Ukraine. It was first introduced in Ukrainian cultural discourse by Marko Pavlyshyn, one of the leading diasporic Ukrainian intellectuals. His two essays, “Ukrainska kultura z pohliadu postmodernizmu” (Ukrainian Culture from the Point of View of Postmodernism) and “Kozaky v Iamaitsi: Postkolonialni rysy v suchasnii ukrainskii kulturi” (Cossacks in Jamaica: Post-colonial Features in Contemporary Ukrainian Culture), both first published in 1992,⁴ established the view of current Ukrainian culture as situated at the postmodern/post-colonial crossroads, a view that has been more or less readily accepted in Ukraine itself (unfortunately, with few additional theorizations).⁵

Yet within this global discourse on post-coloniality, which has experienced an almost explosive growth over the past twenty years, the notion of displacement occupies a peculiar position. While there exists a widespread

for the first concept, also their earlier volume, *Anti-Oedipus*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983). On the concept of heterotopia, see Foucault's essay “Of Other Spaces,” trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 22–7; and the “Introduction” in his *The Order of Things: An Archeology of Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage, 1973).

4. Marko Pavlyshyn, “Ukrainska kultura z pohliadu postmodernizmu,” *Suchasnist*, 1992, no. 4: 117–25; idem, “Post-Colonial Features in Contemporary Ukrainian Culture,” *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 6, no. 2 (1992): 41–55, revised as “Kozaky v Iamaitsi: Postkolonialni rysy v suchasnii ukrainskii kulturi,” *Slovo i chas*, 1994, nos. 4–5: 65–71. These and other essays by Pavlyshyn are collected in his *Kanon ta ikonostas* (Kyiv: Chas, 1997), 213–22 and 222–36 respectively.

5. There have been some discussions in Ukrainian periodicals of the applicability of both concepts to contemporary Ukrainian literature and visual arts, but the discussions have been conducted largely in a journalistic or ad hominem vein. As Marko Pavlyshyn has noted, “the rhetorical level of the exchanges [in these discussions] is sometimes such that it would justify the term ‘brawl’” (“Literary Politics vs. Literature: Ukrainian Debates in the 1990s,” *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review* 28, nos. 1–2 [2001]: 149). These discussions proceeded from an uncritical assumption of a stable and well-defined meaning of the two concepts. In the West important further theorizations of Ukrainian culture within the colonial/post-colonial paradigm have been provided by Pavlyshyn himself and also by George Grabowicz (see his “Ukrainian Studies: Framing the Contexts,” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 3 [Fall 1995]: 674–90).

consensus about it being crucial for analyses of post-colonial subjectivity, the term itself remains largely undertheorized. Few post-colonial critics ventured into theorizing the implications of displacement beyond a frequently quoted passage from one of the “founding texts” of post-colonial criticism—Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin’s *The Empire Writes Back*. “A major feature of post-colonial literatures,” they write, “is the concern with place and displacement. It is here that the special post-colonial crisis of identity comes into being; the concern with the development or recovery of an effective identifying relationship between self and place.”⁶ By contrast, the concepts of otherness, cultural hybridity, nationhood and subalternity⁷ have been at the forefront of the post-colonial debate. While more recently, the concept of diaspora as a displaced *group* identity has undergone a resurgence of interest (particularly in the context of Third World diasporas),⁸ it does not provide an adequate conceptual framework for discussing the more fragmented, individualized displacement that has characterized the situation in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet empire.⁹ Nor does it address the question of the more flexible, non-permanent migration that has become possible with the contemporary permeability of borders.¹⁰ In this essay I would like to draw more attention to the articulations of experiences of displacement that serve as a major organizing principle in several key Ukrainian texts, which can be described as post-colonial from the point of

6. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 8–9.

7. The latter notion acquired its current use in the Indian scholarly tradition, where it has been introduced to refer to complex systems of cultural subjugation and subordination that are irreducible to the Marxist understanding of class alone but also involve the factors of gender, ethnicity, caste, age, level of education, and so forth. For an introduction to this school’s work, see Ranajit Guha, ed. *A Subaltern Studies Reader, 1986–1995* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997). On cultural hybridity, another key concept in the discourse on post-colonialism, see Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

8. See, for instance, Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (New York: Routledge, 1996), and Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, eds., *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies of Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996). The focus of these valuable volumes is on the experiences of diasporas as displaced *group* identities and mostly within the sociological and anthropological framework.

9. Although the recent immigrants from Ukraine have sometimes been referred to in the US and Canada as “the fourth wave,” this is probably the least united or organized Ukrainian immigrant community in North America ever.

10. Among the few critics to devote considerable attention to this issue is Rosi Braidotti, particularly in her *Nomadic Subjects* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

view of chronology, epistemology, and ontology, and to suggest some of the implications these texts have for the study of post-colonial cultures in the greater global context.

Among contemporary East European literatures, that of Ukraine shows one of the strongest preoccupations with post-colonial concerns. There are several factors that account for this. Throughout the twentieth century (and previous one as well) Ukrainian literature was torn between the drive towards establishing itself as part and parcel of a greater European whole and the very acute sense of the precarious, endangered position of the national identity, language, customs in the face of the fierce on-going process of Russification. In a classic case of colonialist cultural policy, Ukrainian culture was continuously stigmatized in the Russian and Soviet empires as a minor, subaltern culture of only a local, provincial interest. Outside Ukraine's borders its literature is relatively little known, partly due to the West's use of the Russian filter in dealing with it, partly to Ukrainian writing's inevitable preoccupation with matters of local concern, and partly to the fact that throughout the prolonged colonial rule Ukraine has been presented in the literatures of the empires that dominated it—Russia, Poland, and Austria—as only a repository of pastoral exotica, "the Slavic Ausonia." Ironically, the Ukrainian writer best known around the world assimilated into Russian culture and contributed to this colonial stereotyping—I have in mind, of course, Mykola Hohol, a.k.a. Nikolai Gogol (1809–51).¹¹ On the other hand, while many recognize the *name* of Ukraine's great national poet, Taras Shevchenko (1814–61), Gogol's contemporary, few non-Ukrainians, alas, actually know his *writing*.

In both Gogol's and Shevchenko's life, the experience of displacement played an important part: their move to the empire's capital, Gogol's volun-

11. A similar pattern can be discerned in the reception of the writing of the best-known German-language nineteenth-century writer born in Ukraine, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch. Before his name gained notoriety with the coinage of the term "masochism," Sacher-Masoch's works were enthusiastically received (not only in Austria and Germany, but also in France and Russia) as the discovery of the exotic primordial culture of Ukraine. In the German-language context, Sacher-Masoch was referred to as the "Columbus of Galicia," while the French critics dubbed him "the Little-Russian Turgenev" and the Russian ones, "the Little-Russian Schopenhauer." However, I would argue that in the case of Sacher-Masoch, in contrast to Gogol, the colonial stereotyping was performed not so much in his own writing but in the contemporaneous critical reception. I have dwelt on the case of Sacher-Masoch in my paper "The Sacher-Masoch Foundation: Ukrainians, Russians, and the Masoch Legacy," presented in December 2000 at the Annual Convention of the Modern Language Association of America in Washington, D. C.

tary exile to Italy, and Shevchenko's forced exile to the Urals and Central Asia. In their writing, however, it does not become a focus of thematic preoccupation; nor is it central to the literature of the so-called Executed Renaissance (*rozstriliane vidrodzhennia*) of the first third of the twentieth century.¹² It is in the writing of the post-colonial era (during and after the breakdown of the Soviet Union) that the theme of displacement becomes a matter of major concern; moreover, one can talk about the protagonist's displacement becoming the major structuring trope of much of contemporary Ukrainian writing.

The term "post-colonial" by now is widely used in the discourse on contemporary Ukrainian culture; however, most critics tend to employ it in a strictly chronological sense, that is, as a designation for the culture of the period following the end of Russian colonial domination. I believe, however, that a sustained dialogic engagement between the bodies of texts of post-colonial theory and contemporary Ukrainian literature can demonstrate the appropriateness of describing the latter as post-colonial in the more theoretical understanding of the term. I have dwelt on the parallels between the analyses of colonialism by the leading theorist of anti-colonial resistance in the context of Western colonial empires, Frantz Fanon, and by the leader of Ukraine's "Executed Renaissance" of the 1920s, Mykola Khvylov, and the affinity between the theoretical concerns and underpinnings of much of contemporary Ukrainian writing and those of the discourse on post-coloniality.¹³ The present text in a way constitutes a reciprocal utterance in the above-mentioned dialogue as I attempt to use several Ukrainian texts to throw more light on one of post-colonial theory's areas of concern.

The two writers whose work I shall be discussing here are Yuri Andrukhovych and Oksana Zabuzhko, widely recognized as some of Ukraine's most prominent contemporary authors. Both were born in 1960 and thus belong to the generation that came of age as the USSR was falling deeper into crisis and slowly beginning to crumble, and both had their first books published in 1985; both initially gained acclaim as poets but have since shifted their main focus of attention to prose. Here I shall discuss Andru-

12. Although in the early twentieth-century writing we find a pronounced preoccupation with the move from the country into the city, it is construed more in terms of a change in class structure rather than spatial dislocation. The classic example is Valerian Pidmohylny's novel *Misto*.

13. "Away from Moscow II: The Articulation of Ukrainian Post-colonial Identities," presented in November 1997 at the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Seattle.

khovych's quasi-trilogy of novels consisting of *Rekreatsii* (Recreations, written in 1990, published 1992),¹⁴ *Moskoviada* (The Moscoviad, 1993), and *Perverziia* (Perversion, 1996) and Zabuzhko's novel *Polovi doslidzhennia z ukrainskoho seksu* (Field Research in Ukrainian Sex, 1996). All of these works, as I have mentioned earlier, organize their narratives around the experiences of displacement. Moreover, I would argue that in these texts we find a major instance not only of an aesthetic depiction of, but also of a theoretical reflection on, the concept of displacement with relevance far beyond Ukraine's borders.

In his writing Andrukhovych does not simply bear witness to the decline and fall of the empire, but daringly explores the hybrid and contradictory nature of the present-day Ukrainian intellectual subject and irreverently dethrones the many sacred cows of the frozen populist vision of Ukrainian culture commonly upheld during the era of anti-colonial resistance. The controversy that followed the publication of his first novel, *Rekreatsii*, the main featured work of the first post-independence issue of Ukraine's leading literary monthly, *Suchasnist*, foregrounded precisely this critical aspect of his writing. Without reaching the dimensions of the controversy surrounding the writings of Salman Rushdie, the case of *Rekreatsii* nevertheless proved Andrukhovych's effectiveness in disturbing the complacent reader. That by the time his second and third novels—in many ways more radical than the first one—were published the scandal had abated, testifies to the radical paradigm shift that Andrukhovych's writing had triggered, ushering Ukrainian writing into the post-colonial condition.

In his prose work of the 1990s, Andrukhovych uses the experiences of displacement as the core trope, delivering a critique of the condition of Ukrainian colonial intellectuals and the society at large on the eve of independence in *Rekreatsii*, a harsh indictment of Soviet colonialism in *Moskoviada*, and an exploration of the place of a Ukrainian post-colonial intellectual within the global cultural condition in *Perverziia*. Finally, his latest novel, *Dvanadtsiat obruchiv* (Twelve Rings, 2003), serves as a kind of epilogue to the earlier quasi-trilogy, instantiating a revision of earlier topoi, this time anchored through the figure of a Westerner displaced into Ukraine and dying an absurd and tragic death.

The structure of Andrukhovych's cycle of novels is in itself indicative of the trajectories of a post-colonial intellectual's process of identity-construction. The first of them, *Rekreatsii*, draws a picture of a contemporary

14. An English translation by Marko Pavlyshyn, *Recreations*, was published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press in 1998.

Ukraine that has a passion for change and evidences the corruption of old ideals and a lack of a unifying moment. It recounts the schizophrenic hybridity of the post-colonial society. The sense of confusion is exacerbated by the text's complex polyphonic construction: switching among first, second, and third persons, the narrative presents the perspectives of six different characters—four poets, the wife of one of them, and a local prostitute. The story takes place in a town with the suggestive name of Chortopil (“Devilville”), to which the four poets are invited to take part in a festival entitled “The Feast of the Resurrecting Spirit” (*sviato Voskresaiuchoho Dukhu*); thus we have a displacement of four key characters within Ukraine's borders and of one poet, Khomsky, from Russia. The clash between the names of the town and the festival is just one of the apparent incongruities in this event: the festival's program is replete with patriotic Ukrainian events in the Russia movie theatre and the auditorium of the city Communist Party committee, the procession of the cross goes down Dzerzhinsky Street, and so on. The supposedly joyful carnivalesque event leaves a bitter and alienating impression: nearly all characters in the text, as Michael Naydan has noted, “talk at each other with very little communication, and most often through a drunken haze in bars.”¹⁵ Their misadventures culminate in a series of visions and encounters: one of the main characters has a Hoffmannesque brush with a devilish feast of the underworld, another's search for his place of origin (his forefathers' destroyed village) leads to the discovery of the still warm corpse of a slain local racketeer, and so forth. These frustrating and telling accounts of “things having gone wrong” create an emotional buildup that leads to an overall sense of crisis.

The novel, however, ends on a note of unexpected catharsis that gives a double meaning to its title: the festival comes to an abrupt end in a putsch and mass arrest of the festival participants, which, however, turn out to be a mock, staged event and the festival's culmination. This jolting experience apparently reawakens the nobler personal emotions in the characters, and the text ends with a revived carnivalesque camaraderie of the fellow poets.

Rekreatsii invites several possible readings: many, including the author himself, were amazed at how its sobering portrayal of a putsch turned chillingly prophetic.¹⁶ Ultimately, though, it is the private, personal experi-

15. Michael Naydan, “Ukrainian Prose of the 1990s as It Reflects Contemporary Social Structures,” *The Ukrainian Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 52.

16. See Mykola Riabchuk, “Zamist pisliamovy do ‘Rekreatsii’: Interviu z Iuriem Andrukhovychem,” *Suchasnist*, 1992, no. 2: 118. As Andrukhovych notes, the August 1991 putsch in Moscow coincided with the Chervona Ruta festival in Zaporizhzhia.

ences of the principal characters that crystallize into an allegorical reflection of the troubled state of the country itself. It is thus more than fitting that the novel was published immediately after Ukraine's gaining of independence: for all its ambivalence in portraying contemporary Ukrainian society, its ending contains at least a qualified optimism.

It is Andrukhovych's next major prose work, however, that in my opinion has become the paradigmatic post-colonial narrative in contemporary Ukrainian literature: *Moskoviada: Roman zhakhiv* (The Moscoviad: A Novel of Horrors).¹⁷ The reader is presented here with a paradigmatic instance of "writing back to the centre of the empire," which Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin highlighted in their above-mentioned book as the predominant feature of post-colonial writing. The ontological perspective of a displaced post-colonial intellectual in the (former) imperial centre serves here as the foundation of an anti-imperialist counternarrative. Even more ambitious in scope than *Rekreatsii*, this novel, set in the year 1991, builds upon Andrukhovych's autobiographic experiences: in 1990 and 1991, he was a student at the Advanced Literary Courses in Moscow.

In its narrative construction, *Moskoviada* alludes to or parallels several key modernist and postmodern texts. Organized as a second-person inner monologue of the protagonist, the Ukrainian poet Otto von F., the narrative follows him in his day-long odyssey through Moscow on the eve of the August 1991 putsch. The novel opens with a sometimes sadly ironic, sometimes openly sarcastic description of the "literary" dorm and its various inhabitants, gathered from all over the empire. The largest dose of sarcasm is reserved for the two Russian chauvinist poets of the *Nash Sovremenik/Molodaia gvardiia* brand, Ezhevkin and Nikolai Palkin; the narrator quotes from the latter's rabid doggerel, which displays the kernel of imperialist fervour stripped of cliché adornments:

За что, Прибалтика, скажи!
Святую Русь так ненавидишь?
Замри, Эстон! Литва, дрожи!
Ты рускии хуй еще увидишь!¹⁸

17. Written in 1992 and first published in *Suchasnist*, 1993, nos. 1: 40–84 and 2: 10–53.

18. Why, Baltic countries, tell me! / Do you hate Holy Rus' so much? / Freeze, Estonia! Tremble, Lithuania! / You'll see the Russian prick someday! (*Suchasnist*, 1993, no. 1: 46).

“But for some reason,” notes the narrator, “the word *khui* is crossed out by hand, replaced with *mech* [sword], which is also crossed out and replaced with *tank* [tank].” Although Palkin and similar characters in the novel are obviously a grotesque caricature (Ezhevikin claims that the mere word “*imperiia*” brings him to orgasm¹⁹), they form an integral part of a continuum with the much more sinister forces. Not surprisingly, these forces turn out to be the empire’s repressive state apparatus, the KGB and other agencies. But the most frightening aspect of their operations is the collaboration of Ukrainians symbolized by Sashko, a KGB officer who emerges as the protagonist’s doppelgänger, who torments the protagonist throughout the novel. Narrative irony is completely suspended in a passage that laments the degeneration of Ukrainians under colonial and totalitarian rule, making them indistinguishable from the rest of the grey Soviet mass.²⁰

Otto’s carnivalesque adventures, which at the beginning resemble such texts as James Joyce’s *Ulysses* and Venedikt Erofeev’s *Moskva-Petushki*, gradually draw close to the allegorical surreal space of Viktor Pelevin’s *Omon Ra*. The places Otto passes through, like the circles of Dante’s hell, grow more and more shocking. The filthy and dreary “literary” dorm with its pathetic inhabitants aspiring to the title of intellectual elite is succeeded by a beer hall on Fonvizin Street where Otto follows several of his acquaintances, which appears to have been lifted straight from Orwell’s *1984*; then comes a frustrating visit to his lover, Galia, which, like the misadventures in *Rekreatsii*, evidences the erosion of human communication. After the trauma of this visit, Otto attempts to collect his thoughts in the cafeteria of Prague restaurant on the Arbat, but comes upon a gathering of grotesque and deranged vagabonds there. One of them sets off a grenade, and Otto barely escapes the explosion. Finally, Otto makes an equally frustrating visit to the Children’s World department store, which, symbolically, has no goods in stock except paper peace doves and where. Ironically, this is where he is mugged by a man who, he mistakenly assumed, was making a pass at him and who turns out to be a fellow countryman. Chasing after the mugger, Otto suddenly finds himself in the otherworldly realm of Moscow’s secret underground, populated by the KGB and giant mutant rats, which were genetically engineered for the state’s needs. Otto is arrested for trespassing and locked in a cage next to these monsters. In this secret underworld Otto learns how completely the threads of surveillance pervade the empire when even Galia appears with orders to kill him. However, she helps him flee the rat cage,

19. Ibid., 49.

20. Ibid., 62.

and in his escape Otto stumbles upon the bunker where the ruling elite have gathered to wait out the putsch; finding Ezhevikin and Palkin at this grotesque gathering merely amuses him. Next to this bunker Otto finds an even more surreal one: the guard informs him that there the dead are holding a symposium on the empire's critical situation. It is at this macabre masquerade (all the participants in the symposium, Otto is told, have to wear masks) that Sashko again catches up with the protagonist, with orders to kill him. Otto receives a bullet in the head but survives and manages to escape and catch the last train leaving for Kyiv at two minutes before midnight.

Moskoviada thus emerges as an instance of the archetypal “journey home,” a modern-age odyssey. More importantly in our case, it is also the instance of post-colonial “writing back to the centre of the empire.” While parallels can be drawn between the critique of totalitarianism in this work and in texts such as Erofeev’s *Moskva-Petushki* and Tadeusz Konwicki’s *A Minor Apocalypse*.²¹ I would suggest that *Moskoviada* should be discussed in the light of one of the now classic post-colonial novels, the Sudanese writer Tayeb Salih’s *Season of Migration to the North*.²² What brings Andrukhovych’s and Salih’s novels together and what distinguishes them both from Erofeev’s and Konwicki’s novels is their focus on the experience of a displaced (post)colonial intellectual confronting the imperial centre (in Erofeev the protagonist is a Russian in Moscow, and in Konwicki a Pole in Warsaw). In both works we experience the empire in its splendor and misery through the defamiliarizing gaze of a colonial *outsider*, and in both the ambivalent ending testifies to the complexity of imperial relations: there is a *possibility* of escape, but the reader is not completely certain whether the escape is in fact successful. Many Arab critics of Salih and Ukrainian critics of Andrukhovych reduce their works questions of retribution, self-affirmation, and the final closure of imperialism.²³ Saree Mak-

21. Andrukhovych’s novel even shares with these works the structural organization of a one-day odyssey of a quasi-autobiographical protagonist—perhaps the common debt of all of these texts to *Ulysses*. The parallels between *Moskoviada* and Konwicki’s novel are discussed by Oksana Zabuzhko in her essay “Polska ‘kultura’ i my, abo malyi apokalipsys moskoviady,” in her *Khroniky vid Fortinbrasa: Vybrana eseistyka 90-kh* (Kyiv: Fakt, 1999), 314–25, esp. 322–5.

22. Tayeb Salih, *Season of Migration to the North*, trans. Denys Johnson-Davies (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1970).

23. See, for instance, Solomiia Pavlychko’s reading of *Moskoviada* in her foreword, “Facing Freedom: The New Ukrainian Literature,” trans. Askold Melnyczuk, in *From Three Worlds: New Writing from Ukraine*, ed. Ed Hogan (Boston: Zephyr Press, 1996),

disi's comment on such readings of Salih could well be applied to the critics of Andrukhovych:

While [the novel] continually moves between different registers and frameworks, [such critics] try to reduce it to a one-dimensional narrative.... Its power as an ideological form is, ironically, demonstrated by these critics who try to supply it with a narrative closure that will "make sense" within a certain ideological framework marked and governed by the existence of fundamental categories and rigid absolutes.

But *Season of Migration* defies and deconstructs such categories as it undermines many of the traditional dualisms that are associated with post-colonial discourse. What appears at first to be neatly divisible into black and white is ... broken down and synthesized into an endless variety of shades of gray.²⁴

The trajectory Andrukhovych's interests have taken since *Moskoviada* also points to a fundamental affinity of his writing to the post-colonial problematic. His third novel, *Perverziiia*,²⁵ explores the place of the Ukrainian intellectual in the larger, global cultural order through an encounter with the Western (not the Russian) Other. In it he continues the analysis of the transformations of the Ukrainian post-colonial subject and of the national culture. Like the previous novels, *Perverziiia* follows its protagonist (again a Ukrainian writer) on his journey, this time from Ukraine to Venice, where he is invited to take part in a symposium entitled "The Post-Carnival Madness of the World: What's on the Horizon?" scheduled for the week following the celebrated Venetian carnival. His wanderings all over the city lead to his eventual (mysterious and unresolved) disappearance.

In this novel Andrukhovych continues his analysis of the transformations of the Ukrainian post-colonial subject and of the national culture, and he reserves a large dose of sarcasm for the West, which persists in its ignorance of and disinterest in Ukraine and its culture.²⁶

17 (a surprisingly reductive interpretation for Pavlychko, one of the most nuanced and sensitive critics of modern Ukrainian literature).

24. Makdisi, "The Empire Renarrated: Season of Migration to the North and the Reinvention of the Present," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 543–4.

25. First published in *Suchasnist*, 1996, no. 1: 9–85; no. 2: 9–80.

26. For example, the letter of invitation and the programme of the symposium consistently misspell Ukraine as "Ukrania" or "Ukraia," and the invitation lists suggested topics for presentation that may be of interest to a Western audience, including Ukrainian nuclear arms, cholera epidemics, and "your writers," such as "Dostoevsky, Gorky, Bulgakov, Sakharov and others" (Iurii Andrukhovych, *Perverziiia* [Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia-

This text is organized as a veritable encyclopedia of styles and literary forms (containing numerous simulations of “found objects,” such as transcripts of spy reports, playbills, newspaper articles, or passages in the form of a catechism, to name just a few). Some familiar themes from previous works, such as the carnival (a fixture of Bu-Ba-Bu writing in general and of Andrukhovych’s in particular, especially in *Rekreatsii*) and the Hoffmannesque encounter with the underworld, reappear in the novel. The levels of the plot are almost innumerable and include a spy thriller, a love story, a social satire, a picaresque narrative, parodies and subversions of these, and many other forms. Intertextual references, hidden or laid bare, abound in the text.²⁷ Yet *Perverziia* also signals that in the evolving post-colonial context Andrukhovych is embarking upon a new stage of his writing career. The utopian exuberance of the carnival gives way to the cacophony of the contemporary heterogeneous world, which is contrasted with an unexpected postmodern reincarnation of the Orphic myth (which, like other cultural topoi in the text, is simultaneously asserted and subverted). However, the message of qualified optimism remains: we know that Perfetsky has disappeared—indeed, the novel contains a transcript of his taped suicide note—yet we are led to believe that his suicide could very well have been staged and that he may have fooled his pursuers, relinquished his established identity, and reinvent himself. This optimistic note is also present in *Dvanadtsiat obruchiv*, Andrukhovych’s most melancholy text to date.

With each new work, the scope of the characters’ displacement increases to new levels, as does the disorientation and the ambiguity of the endings. The novels consecutively depict their protagonists’ attempts at constructing identity-forming relationships with the nation, the imperial Other, and the “New World Order.” The private, personal experiences of displacement emerge here as an allegory of the collective experience of the Ukrainian people during a time of paradigmatic changes, which largely coincides with Fredric Jameson’s model of “national allegory,” one of the influential, if frequently criticized, attempts at constructing a theoretical model of post-colonial writing.²⁸

NV, 1997], 35–42).

27. Among the intertextual links not explicitly expressed is the story “Mervetskyi velykden” (“The Easter of the Dead,” 1833) by the founder of Ukrainian vernacular prose fiction, Hryhorii Kvitka-Osnovianenko, which centres around such a “Hoffmannesque” festival of the dead taking place during the first night of Lent.

28. See Jameson, “Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism,” *Social Text*, no. 15 (1986): 65–88.

In denouncing Russian and Soviet imperialism, however, Andrukhovych does not posit Ukraine in its pre-colonial stage as the utopian ideal. As Makdisi notes, post-colonial intellectuals often display a tendency to focus in their engagement with imperialism

on a reaffirmation of the traditional cultures and ways of life that were disrupted by it. They are thus led in search of alternatives to the present dominant culture that exist only in isolated images and practices that are taken as reaffirmations of traditional, precolonial cultures. Opposition to imperialism can therefore be diverted into a futile search for traditions, through which the post-colonial intellectual attempts (if only symbolically) to reembrace his or her own people and “their” culture. Having adopted the vestiges (or outer trappings) of these traditions, these intellectuals soon discover their emptiness; having tried to grasp hold of “the people,” they are left clutching the now-barren symbols of the past.²⁹

Although in his novels and more emphatically in the cycle of poems “Lysty v Ukrainu” (Letters to Ukraine), which serves as a companion text to *Moskoviada*, Andrukhovych asserts his faith in the Ukrainian spirit,³⁰ he continually stresses the impurity, heterogeneity, and ambivalence of all cultural loci. Throughout his œuvre he eschews the rigid black-and-white dichotomy frequently encountered in traditional colonial discourse. In texts like his, “the existence of pure and unaffected traditional cultures to which post-colonial intellectuals can ‘escape’ is exposed as an illusion. Indeed, the very existence of any culture in some sort of absolute isolation from others is shown to be impossible in the post-colonial world.”³¹ The personal experiences of *Moskoviada*’s Otto von F., *Perverzia*’s Stanislav Perfetsky, and other Andrukhovych’s characters thus read as an allegory for Ukraine’s complex condition at the dawn of decolonization. However, despite the frequently dark and bitter tone of much of his writing, there is always an element of optimism in it. His work not only rewrites the past and the present as a “counternarration of the histories of imperialism and modernization,” but also looks toward “some alternative future it is in the process of inventing.”³² This grain of optimism contained in post-colonial writing is what brings it together with other discourses that can be described by the

29. Makdisi, “The Empire Renarrated,” 537.

30. In poem X, lines 13–14, he describes the Ukrainian spirit as “an underground baroque [that] rallies resistance / and blooms wildly even in its shards” (*pidpilne baroko vlashtovuie opir / i tsvite shaleno navit v ulamkakh*). The cycle in its entirety was published in *Chetver*, no. 3 (1994): 55–75; an abbreviated version of it appeared as an appendix to *Moskoviada*.

31. Ibid., 543–4.

32. Ibid., 546.

umbrella term “postmodernism of resistance.”³³ While the early stages of postmodernist cultural production in the West were strongly influenced by Roland Barthes’ notion of the “death of the author” or, in Michel Foucault’s less brutal formulation, “the erosion of the author function,” the critical deconstruction and subversion of the modern Western canon performed in post-colonial writing clearly shows that the rumours about the “death of the author” have been somewhat exaggerated—for that particular author happened to be white, male, imperialist, heterosexual, and so forth. While much postmodernist writing works through the exhaustion of the project of modernity, texts produced from a formerly subaltern subject-position are in many respects looking from these ruins to the future that is to replace the old order.

In contemporary Ukrainian letters, Oksana Zabuzhko’s writing rivals Andrukhovych’s both in terms of popularity and of the controversy that has surrounded it. Her *Polovi doslidzhennia z ukrainskoho seksu*, like Andrukhovych’s first novel, created what she herself has referred to as “a boisterous scandal.” This is not surprising, given its provocative title. The controversy was only exacerbated by the fact that the text can be read as a *roman à clef* based on the author’s experiences in the United States as a Fulbright scholar in 1994 and is to my knowledge the first work of fiction that takes its characters to the national convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. While in its choice of an academic setting and the irreverent and provocative way in which the latter is treated Zabuzhko’s text can be compared to novels such as David Lodge’s *Changing Places* and *Small World* and, in the Slavic context, to Dubravka Ugrešić’s *Fording the Stream of Consciousness*,³⁴ on the whole her novel is preoccupied to a far greater extent with a set of issues that have little in common with satirizing the academia.

A writer in whose work we find one of the most powerful explorations of Ukraine’s colonial legacy combined with a challenge to the familiar paradigms of patriarchy that often re-emerge in the openings created by the breakdown of the empire, Zabuzhko has emerged as one of the most impressive presences on the contemporary Ukrainian literary and cultural scene. Passionate and intellectually sophisticated, her writings testify to the power and the urgency of a critique shaped by the standpoint of a post-

33. See Hal Foster, “Postmodernism: A Preface,” in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), xii.

34. Dubravka Ugrešić, *Fording the Stream of Consciousness*, trans. Michael Henry Heim (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993).

colonial feminist subject. Her œuvre demonstrates the remarkable potential generated by the conjunction of feminism and post-colonialism, two strains of the postmodernism of resistance, in the post-Soviet context.

In her novel the preoccupation with place and displacement, with the vestiges of the empire and the fragments of the national past shapes up the identity-always-in-the-making of a nomadic postmodern intellectual, where both the nation-based and the gender-based aspects are objects of continuous negotiation grounded in a survival-through-text. If for Andrukhovych it was to the greatest extent the displacement into the centre of the collapsing empire in *Moskoviada* that provided an idiom for articulating the Ukrainian post-colonial condition, for Zabuzhko it was the more heterogeneous and, in Gilles Deleuze's terms, "rhizomatic" displacement of an almost dispersive kind that prompted the negotiations of personal—and collective—identities; it could be argued, however, that this novel contains in condensed and/or embryonic form all the trajectories of displacement we have encountered in Andrukhovych.³⁵

In *Polovi doslidzhennia z ukraïnskoho seksu* Zabuzhko builds the text on the personal experiences of displacement and trauma. This mode of "writing one's way" out of a personal crisis, the textual healing after an abusive relationship,³⁶ metamorphoses into a paradigmatic instance of Jamesonian national allegory. Her "private narrative invested with a properly libidinal dynamic" emerges as "an allegory of the embattled situation of the public culture and society."³⁷ Indeed, one of the works Jameson chooses to illustrate his concept of national allegory, Ousmane Sembène's *Xala*, also uses sexual dysfunction as a metaphor for the troubled condition of post-colonial society.

In Zabuzhko's novel we are also confronted by very graphically portrayed human bodies—overwhelmingly female bodies—experiencing sexual pleasure, but also being violated, scarred, and bruised. However, the experiences, both traumatic and pleasurable, of the protagonist and other characters are not presented in terms of an abstract gender confrontation.

35. Although Andrukhovych's non-fictional writings, starting with the essay "Vstup do heohrafii," *Pereval*, 1993, no. 1: 74–88, also signal a movement towards exploring more heterogeneous and multidirectional forms of displacement. Many of his essays have been collected in his *Dyzorientatsiia na mistvevosti* (Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia-NV, 1999).

36. Here the novel is in many respects homologous with Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar*. It is not surprising that Zabuzhko has acknowledged the influence of Plath on her own writing and has translated Plath's poetry into Ukrainian.

37. Jameson, "Third-World Literature," 69.

Zabuzhko herself appears to be in full agreement with Jameson: in the novel, she repeatedly remarks that Ukrainian sorrow is not of a private psychoanalytic kind, but the imprint of the nightmare of colonialism and totalitarianism, and the novel's protagonist half-jokingly and half-seriously refers to herself as "a sexual victim of the national idea" (*seksualna zhertva natsionalnoi idei*).³⁸ One of the most striking aspects of the novel—the one which probably sparked the greatest number of critics' objections—is its bitter critique of colonial masculinities, an issue that has been gaining prominence in the current post-colonial discourse. As Leela Gandhi notes in her study *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*, a number of critics have "attempted to reread the colonial encounter in these terms as a struggle between competing masculinities [in which] colonial and post-colonial women are postulated as the symbolic mediators of this (male) contestation." On the other hand, the colonial era led to the rise of the discourse of colonial masculinity as "compromised"—a discourse "thoroughly internalized by wide sections of nationalist movement [in the colonies]. Some nationalists responded by lamenting their own emasculation, others by protesting it."³⁹ In *Polovi doslidzhennia* the reader is offered a version of this encounter: a Ukrainian man traumatized by the legacies of Soviet oppression replicates the trauma by abusing his lover, a Ukrainian woman, who too is a survivor of totalitarianism. This palimpsest of traumas is highlighted by the fact that much of the plot takes place in the United States, where the protagonist, a poet, is doing research as a Fulbright fellow and is joined by a painter she loves. The defamiliarizing American setting serves as a "sense-generating context," which makes an analytic approach to the trauma in the novel possible. As Serhii Datsiuk noted in his perceptive reading of the novel, it became "scandalous" precisely because of its honest and passionate portrayal of the psychological and physical trauma of the Ukrainian anti-colonial intelligentsia.⁴⁰

The gendered aspect of Zabuzhko's narrative endows it with particular strength, providing a modern-day rewriting of one of the central icons of the Ukrainian canon, Taras Shevchenko's archetypal image of the Ukrainian nation as a *pokrytka*, a seduced, violated, and abandoned woman, that runs through his entire œuvre. The contradictions of gender relations, the

38. *Polovi doslidzhennia z ukrainskoho seksu* (Kyiv: Zhoda, 1996), 99–100, 103.

39. Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 98, 100.

40. See Serhii Datsiuk, "Potiah do zhuby, abo ukrainskii chelovek na rendez-vous," *Zoil*, 1997, no. 1: 110–18.

entangled web of desire and abuse are conjoined in their traumatic force with the effects of the imperial machine (the novel includes numerous vivid flashbacks to the totalitarian past). Thus the momentum of “double decolonization,” the working-through of a virtual palimpsest of traumas becomes a step towards “post-colonial healing.” Zabuzhko hopes that the new Ukrainian literature will become “a form of national therapy,”⁴¹ which is precisely what a number of post-colonial critics have been calling for. Leela Gandhi, for instance, believes that “the colonial aftermath calls for an ameliorative and therapeutic theory which is responsive to the task of remembering and recalling the colonial past.” Gandhi compares the post-colonial project to the psychoanalytic procedure of anamnesis, where patients are asked to “elaborate their current problems by freely associating apparently inconsequential details with past situations—allowing them to uncover hidden meanings in their lives and their behavior.”⁴² The post-colonial writer’s task, one may say, lies in “a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present,”⁴³ and gender critique constitutes a particularly effective path for such a project. But in undertaking such a project the gesture of actual or metaphorical displacement is crucial.

Altogether, the Ukrainian texts I have been discussing show that literary works organized around the trope of displacement can be effective critiques of the legacies of imperialism and studies of the dimensions of the post-colonial cultural condition. In them displacement emerges as the trigger or catalyst that endows cultural critique and personal self-analysis with particular clarity and power, and personal displacement becomes an allegory for the complexity of geopolitical structures.

In his posthumously published book *Critique et clinique* (1993), translated into English as *Essays Critical and Clinical*, Gilles Deleuze employed the notion of displacement on a number of occasions, primarily in the context of discussions of maps and mapping as a horizontal shifting, “a redistribution of impasses and breakthroughs, of thresholds and enclosures.”⁴⁴ I believe it would be productive to consider it in conjunction with Jameson’s notion of “an aesthetics of cognitive mapping—a pedagogical,

41. *Polovi doslidzhennia*, 140.

42. Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*, 7–8; quoting J.-F. Lyotard’s *The Postmodern Explained to Children* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 93.

43. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 63.

44. Gilles Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, trans. Daniel Smith and Michael Greco (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 63.

political culture which seeks to endow the individual subject with some new heightened sense of its place in the global system.”⁴⁵ “The political form of postmodernism,” he writes, would “have as its vocation the invention and projection of a global cognitive mapping, on social as well as a spatial scale.”⁴⁶ An introduction of this concept in the analysis of contemporary Ukrainian culture would allow us to situate it within the fluid global contexts more effectively.

Indeed, such a move would lead one to observe a profound affinity between the local endemic cultural processes and cultural patters manifested on the global scale. Placing contemporary Ukrainian developments in the context of multiple overlapping “posts” (postmodernism, post-colonialism, post-Communism) highlights the place of literature as an integral part of the critical practice that is post-colonialism. This critical edge situates it within the type of postmodernist culture that is not a forgetful—and reactionary—mindless play with fragments of the past; on the contrary, as Hal Foster puts it, it “is concerned with a critical deconstruction of tradition, not an instrumental pastiche of pop- or pseudo-historical forms, with a critique of origins, not a return to them. In short, it seeks to question rather than to exploit cultural codes, to explore rather than conceal social and political affiliations.”⁴⁷ And within this cultural paradigm, the trope of displacement appears to be a *sine qua non*.

45. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 54.

46. Ibid.

47. Foster, “Postmodernism: A Preface,” xi-xii.

Бу-Ба-Бу, карнавал і кіч

Тамара Гундорова

Наша молодість минула майже водночас із тоталітарною епоховою. І чи не був наш бубабізм, що мислився нами також і як виклик тоталітаризму, чимось, що в той же час могло проіснувати лише завдяки йому ж, цьому тоталітаризму?

Юрій Андрухович

Ситуацію кінця двадцятого століття в українській літературі, подібно як і в інших літературах світу, вже неможливо уявити без т.зв. “постмодернізму”. Про це свідчить насамперед сучасний критичний дискурс (мало яка розмова про нинішню літературу обходиться без цього не особливо вдалого терміну, вживаного позитивно або негативно, але рідко – нейтрально). Говорити про постмодернізм як історичний факт змушує також поява нещодавно виданої *Малої української енциклопедії актуальної літератури*,¹ де цілком серйозно говориться про два періоди літературного постмодерністського дискурсу вісімдесятих і дев'яностох років – ПМД-80 (“постгессеанський”) та ПМД-90 (“постборхесівський”). Після недовготривлої полеміки Олега Ільницького з Марком Павлишином щодо “трансплантації” та “органічності” західного постмодернізму в Україні,² здається, вже ясно, що деформації тоталітарної свідомості на посткомуністичному просторі не лише не співвідносяться

1. *Плерома*, вип. 3 (Івано-Франківськ: Лілея-НВ, 1998), стор. 91.

2. Олег Ільницький, «Трансплантація постмодернізму: Сумніви одного читача»; і Марко Павлишин, «Застереження як жанр», *Сучасність*, 1995, ч. 10, стор. 111–19.

з формами американсько-французько-італійського постмодерну (себто “логікою пізнього капіталізму”, за Фредриком Джеймсоном), але й значно видозмінюють саме уявлення про постмодернізм.³

Наприкінці двадцятого століття постмодернізм виконує функції нового іронізму, здійснюючи переоцінку усіх існуючих “словників” культури. Однак така переоцінка не тотожна перевертанню або реваншу — швидше вона спирається на той спосіб переописання речей, який, за Річардом Рорті, полягає в тому, щоб винайти модель лінгвістичної поведінки, яка спокушуватиме наступну генерацію і заставить її шукати нові форми не-лінгвістичної поведінки.⁴ Ніби на підтвердження цієї формули Рорті український прикінцевостолітній карнавалізований іронізм має передусім форму лінгвістичної поведінки. Дуже прикметне у цьому відношенні визнання себе Юрієм Андруховичем як передусім “людини вербальної”. Лінгвістична іронічна поведінка визначає імідж, функції і природу славнозвісного Бу-Ба-Бу, а відходячи в минуле, вона дає місце новим моделям поведінки (вже не лінгвістичного, а швидше інституційного та прагматичного характеру).

Про це свідчить громадська заангажованість “смолоскипівців”, критико-інтерпретаційна стратегія переоцінки цінностей, розгорнена *Літературою плюс*, “деміургійна персональна креативність”, заявлені в *Плеромі* і трактована вже не лише як естетика, але як ідеологічний виклик, а також підкреслена опозиційність т. зв. постмодерністів щодо “тестаментарно-рустикального дискурсу”. Додаймо до цього програмний маскулінізм літературної майстерні “Пси святого Юра” (який цілком закономірно проявив себе у дещо перестиглому *Тому, що на споді Юрія Покальчука*), зрештою — появу нових “канонів” у формі різного роду сецесійних антологій, і матимемо повне враження перелому від постмодерного бубабістського іронізму (відкінено на хвильку еволюцію самих “бубабістів” — про неї мова далі).

Отож ідея Ольги Сєдакової про безсилій пацифізм, що стоїть за постмодерністською “спробою гри у світ, в якому сила взагалі не

3. Мігай Сегедь-Масак справедливо зауважує: “Спрямувавши погляд на літературу колишнього комуністичного світу, переконуємося, що навіть найпроникливіші теоретики постмодерності мало зважають на Східну вропу” («Постмодернізм і посткомунізм», *Критика*, 1998, ч. 5, стор. 18).

4. Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), стор. 9.

діє”,⁵ видається принаймні несвоєчасною, а то й помилковою, коли зважити, приміром, на ту стратегію заволодіння читачем, до якої вдається Владімір Пелевін. Так само і бубабістський постмодернізм не позбавлений сили — адже негативізм та іронізм Бу-Ба-Бу, найяскравіше виявлені псевдоритуалом нового Пришестя (поезоопера “Крайслер Імперіал”) з Імперіалом в голові колони і метафорою Христа (Анти-Христа), прихованою в Крайслері, пародіють, монументалізуючи, і монументалізують, пародіючи, мілітаристський культ Поетів-визволителів.

Іноді спадає навіть на думку, що ми завдячуємо саме пізньототалітарній епосі народженням власне постмодерного іронізму. Натомість, звільнюючись від тоталітарної свідомості, ми губимо сам іронізм, за яким проступає дискурс влади *à la* Донцов або антиіронізм *à la* Бузина (останній до того ж знаменує переростання постмодерного іронізму в популізм). Вибірковість і часто агресивність супроводжує процеси збирання (відлучення) “своїх” і “чужих” авторів, прихильників, критиків, “симпатиків”, спонсорів, “салонників”. Відтак пригадуються ритуали типу “партійної організації” і “партійної літератури” — саме з ними все більше асоціюється сучасна українська літературна ситуація. Що там говорити! — вже публікуються навіть нові стратегічні “травневі тези”.⁶

Феномен “опартіювання” літератури підтверджив і Віктор Неборак, але не у вигляді “тез”, але “параграфів”.⁷ Як жест повернення іронізму, він запропонував для членів Асоціації українських письменників “щось на зразок якоїсь — щоб не сказати сектанської — орденської угоди між собою”, в якій основною стає пропозиція — “ми не повинні бути фальшивими в обговоренні творчости одне одного і вчинків одне одного, пов’язаних з творчістю”.

5. Ольга Седакова, «Постмодернізм: засвоєння відчуження», *Дух і літера*, 1997, ч. 1–2, стор. 375.

6. “Українська література на межі тисячоліть — тема фундаментальна і глобальна. Тож я спробую окреслити декілька проблемних вузлів, які, на мою думку, є першочерговими для їх постановки на конкретному етапі. Для чіткішого озвучення цих проблемних вузлів я обираю форму тез, назвавши їх за аналогією — травневими” (Євген Баран, «Літературні дев’яності: підсумки і перспективи», *Кур’єр Кривбасу*, 1999, ч. 116, стор. 3).

7. Віктор Неборак, «Літературна організація і література (Принагідні міркування кoliшнього “звільненого” секретаря з ідейно-виховної роботи Комітету Комсомолу Львівського медичного інституту)», *Література плюс*, 1999, чч. 5–6, стор. 16.

Коли сприйняти ще й уточнення Володимира Єшкілєва про ієрархічну природу т. зв. “станіславського феномену” (“варіаційно салон (метасалон) має бути віддзеркальний у ‘тінях’ пошуком теми ‘сили’ через альтернативи нижчого, дешевшого гатунку”),⁸ то “партійна”, чи то пак “орденська”, структура сучасної української літератури стане ще більш виразною. Я вже не говорю про неформальну інституціоналізацію “прижурнальних” критиків, які гуртуються коло того чи іншого видання (від *Українських проблем* до *Критики*).

Повторю, що таке “партійство” здається мені дуже далеким від того іронізму-карнавалізму, що його принесли наприкінці 1980-х рр. в українське літературне життя бубабісти. Чи означає це, що можемо говорити про пост-постмодернізм, про кризу або кінець українського постмодернізму? Ніякою мірою не абсолютизуючи постмодернізм, все ж відповім “і так і ні”. Так, бо значною мірою іронічна енергія і карнавалізм бубабістів сублімувалися або в майже офіційну культуру (Асоціація українських письменників) або переросли в маскуль т і кіч, спричинивши творчу кризу кожного з бубабістів. Ні, бо разом з бубабізмом-карнавалізмом відійшла якась певна стадія і форма постмодернізму, яка насправді і не була цілком постмодерною.

Так, першою найвиразнішою формою “постмодерністського повороту” в українській літературі стала творчість літературного гурту Бу-Ба-Бу (Юрій Андрухович, Віктор Неборак, Олександр Іранець). Більше того, Бу-Ба-Бу разом з усім шлейфом контекстуальних метафор, ідеологій і моделей іронічної поведінки асоціюється з цілім соціокультурним явищем, яке можна назвати бубабізмом.⁹ Однак бубабізм — це не лише явище соціального плану (молодіжного руху, приміром), але також особливий культурний феномен.

Бубабізм як критика культури

“Словники” культури, на які риторично й соціально спрямовувалася підривна енергія Бу-Ба-Бу, були взяті з офіційного лексикону гібридного національно-просвітницького і соціалістичного письменства. Власне радянська мітологія і власне соціалістичні концепти,

8. Володимир Єшкілев, «Тінь станіславського феномену», *Література плюс*, 1999, чч. 9–10, стор. 4–5.

9. Такий підхід солідаризується з аналізою Олександри Грицак (див. прилітка 12), яка наголошує на соціальному змісті масового молодіжного руху в період перебудови, до якого, на її думку, приналежне їй Бу-Ба-Бу.

здається, цікавили бубабістів значно менше. Лише Олександр Ірванець відкрито вдається до пародіювання, перевертання і стилізації відомих кічевих соцреалістичних мотивів і мелодій (“Депутатська пісня”, “Вірш до рідної мови”, “Пісні східних слов’ян” і особливо знаменитий анти-популістський вірш “Любіть!...”, більше відомий під назвою “Любіть Оклахому”). Ірванець також іронічно-гротесково коментує знамениті “уроки клясики”, які ще зі шкільних років визначили кодекс радянського виховання (“По краплі видавлювати з себе раба”, “Людина родиться для щастя”, “В людині все мусить бути прекрасним”).

На рівні семіотичному переписування дискурсу (або, за Костецьким і Шевельзовим, “балаку”) тоталітарного суспільства здійснює й Андрухович. Зокрема лінгвістичний експеримент Андруховича зводиться до фіксації комунікативного буксування мови. Вкорінюючи у своє письмо кліше, нецензурну лексику, “порожні” семантичні місця (те, що за Фройдом, могло б бути віднесені до “обмовок”), використовуючи популярні сентенції і фрази (на зразок Ірванцевих “уроків клясики”), він насправді проявляє ідіолект імперського кічу, який підкреслював знецінення будь-якого сенсу, окрім офіційного, а також впроваджував взаємозамінність будь-якого слова і будь-якої мови в гомогенізованому дискурсі радянської імперії.

Для цього він насичує, наприклад, свою *Московіаду* словесними блоками, взятыми з архіву клясики, спрофанованої школою (від Шевченка до Лесі Українки), а також лексикою, доведеною до автоматизму радянською пропагандою “дружби народів” (“жоден калмик навіть не привітается з тобою”— рефлексія пушкінського “друга степей, калмика”), додаючи сюди маскультівські “фрейми”, базовані на спопуляризованих “попсою” рефренах (типу “несыпмнесольнарану” або “мертві бджоли не гудуть”).

Лінгвістичний іронізм бубабістів, не позбавлений нарцисизму, був свого роду карнавалом, на якому мали б з’єднатися — майже в гностичному якомусь синтезі — мова і сенс, дух і тіло, що в тоталітарному суспільстві фальшиво і абсолютно розводилися. Адже тоталітаризм становить, як твердить Террі Іглтон,¹⁰ суперечливу амальгаму романтичного ідеалізму (точніше, нерозбавленого кічу високопарного ідеалізму) та цинічного матеріалізму (коли індивідуальні тіла і події стають нерозрізнювано-взаємозамінні).

10. Terry Eagleton, “Estrangement and Irony in the Fiction of Milan Kundera,” в *The Eagleton Reader*, ed. Stephen Regan (Oxford and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1998), 93.

Бубабізм по суті своїй був публічною акцією насамперед, перформенсом, спрямованим на читання вголос і переповненим голосами (і авторськими, і маскарадними). Голос — це певна, майже ангельчина гіпостась буття, яка лише й фіксувала автономість і колоніяльного, і тоталітарного суб'єкта в пізньорадянську епоху. Деперсоналізація завершувалася власне цим. Тіло (фізичне буття) анігілювалося (чи не тому, скажімо, при всій підкресленій біографічності і реальності імен основним персонажем російських авторів-постмодерністів став майже безтіесний суб'єкт, найчастіше пияк, вигляд і вік якого визначити майже неможливо — як у Венедикта Єрофеєва (*Москва — Петушки*), С. Соколова (*Палісандрія*), С. Гандлевського (*Трепанація черепа*). Натомість буття духовне (і на рівні окремого індивідууму, і на рівні масової людини) звелося до “внутрішнього голосу”, що метонімічно заступило персональність суб'єкта.

Бубабісти помітили такі пертурбації фізики і метафізики та назвали їх маскарадом (точніше, карнавалом), на якому маска чи машкара зайняла місце персони, лица, а мова, дух, самість сублімувалися в голос. Тут даремне шукати піранделівського зсуву, який би міг відкрити щілину між лицем і маскою. Лиця вже немає. Лишився голос — це поле свободи, маніпуляції, іронізму і нарцисму бубабістів.

Варто в цьому зв'язку прислухатися до визнання патріарха Бу-Ба-Бу, сфорою зацікавлень якого є “радше “вузли сполучень”, себто “переходи духа в матеріальне”. “Усе, чим займаюсь я в літературі, — зауважує Андрухович, — можна остаточно звести до таємного і замалим не манькального намацування цих болісних і солодких вузлів”¹¹. Отож, топографія переміщень “внутрішнього голосу” (як спосіб екзистенціювання відчуження й самотності пост-тоталітарного індивіда), його заземлення на полі матеріальному, його зв'язок з колективним соціально-культурним тілом, по жіночому змінним й взаємозамінним, — така морально-філософська (майже гностична) основа карнавалізму-бубабізму. Особливою його прикметою стає також нарцисизм.

В пляні історичному бубабізм — явище, яке найбільше відповідає контексту пізнього тоталітаризму. Бубабізм сублімує й естетизує “тіньову” неофіційну культуру, надає їй форму поетичного карнава-

11. Юрій Андрухович, «Автобіографія», у його *Рекреаціях: Романи* (Київ: Час, 1997), стор. 31.

лу. Ідеологічно йому зрідні анекдоти, які складали неформальну культуру пізньототалітарного суспільства. Однак існує й суттєва відмінність: на противагу “кухонним” анекдотам бубабізм публічний, авангардний, має виразну формально-естетичну основу. Зрештою, Олесандра Грицак досить переконливо показує, що саме перверзійна настанова щодо тоталітарних прорадянських символів, зокрема лозунгів офіційної молодіжної організації і офіційних радянських свят визначала семіотику масових дійств початку 1990-х, таких, як “Вивих-92”, де бубабісти були головними авторами і персонажами.¹²

Бубабістів не цікавить переписування (а точніше “підвішування” — імітація) стилістичних матриць традиційної української літератури (за незначними винятками, наприклад, Шевченко, Сосюра, Тичини). Словники Нечуя-Левицького, Грінченка, Стельмаха, Гончара чи інших класиків гібридного радянсько-народницького канону переважно їх також не цікавлять. Іноді вони користуються, правда, іменами, що метонімічно співвідносяться з цілими культурними явищами. Так, “Микола Нагнібіда” (реально існуючий другорядний український поет) перетворюється в романі Андруховича *Рекреації* на загальний символ радянського поета. Зустрічаємо й іронічну рефлексію щодо стилю перважно сільської радянської прози на зразок Андруховичевого “сказаного набік”: “‘Отакої!’ — хочеться тобі сказати, наслідуючи персонажів української радянської прози”.¹³

Позбавлений авангардистської претензії перевернути цілу українську літературну традицію, бубабізм не став ретроспективним апокаліпсисом. Сфера інтересу бубабістів — гра з “порожнинами” й табу національної культури. Інверсії і трансгресії (руйнування меж, переходи значення) у бубабістів, однак, вільні від того, що Жан Бодріяр називає “repentance” (покаяння), — згадаймо відомий фільм Тенгіза Абуладзе *Покаяння*, популярний за часів передбудови. Не є домінуючим у них й інший елемент постмодернізму доби його зародження на Заході, а саме те, що Джон Барт назвав “resentment” (в подвійному його значенні обурення й образи). І покаяння, і образа перемелювалися в ритуальному карнавалізованому сміхові, який бубабісти прийняли за едину можливість

12. Alexandra Hrytsak, “The Coming of ‘Chrysler Imperial’: Ukrainian Youth and Rituals of Resistance,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 21, nos. 1–2 (June 1997): 63–91.

13. Юрій Андрухович, *Московіада: Роман жахів, у його Рекреаціях: Романи*, стор. 136.

втекти від всуціль спроституованого радянського (а ширше — будь-якого тоталітарного) офіціозу.

Отож, бубабізм як варіант пострадянського постмодернізму мав форму соціокультурної критики значно більшою мірою, аніж радикального авангардистського виступу. Іншими словами, Бу-Ба-Бу як цілість не оформлювався як експериментальна авангардистська група, наприклад оберіути, з якими іноді порівнюють бубабістів. Оберіути, як відомо, гуртувалися навколо ідеї “реального” чи “конкретного” мистецтва, яке б спиралося на прийоми “остранення” та “заумі”, розроблені російським формалізмом, і відкривало б приховані імпульси самого мистецтва. Бубабісти натомість прагнути до масового дійства і резонансу, розмиваючи межі поетичної мови як такої. Їхнім естетичним постулятам найбільше відповідала бахтінська теорія карнавалізації.

Передусім йшлося про виклик з боку наймолодшої літературної генерації в Україні щодо літературного офіціозу. Це було потребою “гангстеризму” і розгерметизації офіційної літератури, а також зміною іміджу українського літератора як чи не основної дійової особи на сцені української модерної історії. “Що зробило з огляду на цей контекст ‘Бу-Ба-Бу’”? — рефлексує з цього приводу Неборак. “Самоназвалося доволі провокаційно, почало дбати про найвідповідніший спосіб подачі віршів (найперше — читання напам’ять, чого не дочекається від Кордуна чи, скажімо, [Ігоря] Маленького), про загальну композиційну цілісність вечора, одне слово, про імідж”.¹⁴ Як пізніше скаже Юрій Андрухович, все це виростало з єдиного бажання — “роздопити … брилу пісної недовченії поважності на всьому українському”.¹⁵

Як твердить загалом Андрухович, створюючи пост-фактум ідеологію й легенду Бу-Ба-Бу, “не ми творили щось у цій культурі, а вона творила нас”.¹⁶ Отже, коли підходить до бубабізму як культурного й історичного факту, який, на жаль, уже відбувся і став минулим, виглядає, що він був не лише інверсією, але й негативом се-міопростору національної культури. Сама література “скеровувала і заманювала — своїми необжитими закапелками, незалюдненими

14. «З висоти Літаючої голови, або Зняти маску: Розмова з Віктором Небораком», *Сучасність*, 1994, ч. 5, стор. 57.

15. Юрій Андрухович, «Аве, “Крайслер”! Пояснення очевидного», *Сучасність*, 1994, ч. 5, стор. 6.

16. Там же, стор. 8.

маргінесами, задавненими табу, які так хотілося порушувати” і які творили “порожнини в тому, роздертому на шмаття і розрідженому просторі, котрий іменується українською культурою”, — зізнається знову-таки Андрухович.

Бу-Ба-Бу як карнавал

Однак не варто перебільшувати ідеологічні мотиви бубабістських інтенцій. У випадку з Бу-Ба-Бу маємо майже ініціаційну гру групи молодих поетів, для яких став щасливим час, оскільки складалася “революційна ситуація” — “низи” хотіли, а “верхи” не могли. З погляду психоаналітичного, можна б загалом говорити про явище культурної ініціації, закріплене бубабістами. Адже простежується тісний зв’язок між карнавальною практикою та дитячими ритуалами, а карнавальні ігри та клоунада трактуються як симптоматичний аспект хлоп’ячої гістерії. В усікому разі бажання бавитися і соціокультурна потреба у грі, що була б одночасно інверсією влади, збігалися.

Відповідно до цих умов пізньорадянського зсуву бубабісти розпочинають гру за правилами бахтінської карнавалізації. Візьмемо до уваги, що ця теорія, хоч створена ще в пізні 1930-і роки, стає популярною і загальнодоступною в нових перевиданнях, посиланнях, цитатах саме в пізні 1980-і та ранні 1990-і роки (наприклад, перевидання *Франсуа Рабле и народная культура Средневековья и Ренессанса* у видавництві “Художественная литература” здійснено 1999 року, нові видання естетико-феноменологічних праць Михаїла Бахтіна з’являються у 1975 і 1979 рр.). Зрештою, відкриття самого Бахтіна стає подією пізньої брежневської епохи. Після смерті самого автора в 1975 р. в середовищі академічної науки складається своєрідна мода на Бахтіна.

“Нашим був час”, напише Андрухович, і це варто запам’ятати. Час, що живився ентузіазмом молодості і бажанням не офіціозного, а побратимського, навіть фамільярного світовідчування (“триматися поруч, відчувати лікоть як серцебиття”). Ідея контакту — одна з визначальних для карнавалу, за Бахтіним, також обумовила вибір ідеології Бу-Ба-Бу. Карнавалізація як основа естетичного світовідчувається асоціювалася з пограничною ситуацією буття, зі станом лімінальним, і тут, на межі, розпочиналася гра між життям і не-життям. Звідси, з пограниччя, здавалося, можна було перетворити саму реальність. Це мала б бути певна, нехай тимчасова, реалізація ілюзії, або інакшої реальності (“реальна форма життя виявляється

тут одночасно і її відродженою ідеальною формою"). Так здійснюється момент перевертання, коли естетично програмована форма життя стає домінуючою. Адже карнавал, підкresлював Бахтін, "ніби реальна (але тимчасова) форма самого життя", "по суті, це — саме життя, але оформлене особливим ігровим чином", причому "ідеально-утопічне і реальне тимчасово зливались в цьому единому у своєму роді карнавальному світовідчуванні".¹⁷

Бахтіянський карнавалізм ставав близьким бубабістам також своєю субверсивною спрямованістю щодо т. зв. "офіційної" культури. Хоча на верхніх поверхах офіційної влади і Академії як інституції влади переписування культури на початку перебудови звелося до заповнення "білих плям", однак сама культурна свідомість лишалась принципово неіронічною і тоталітарною. Паралельна низова революція — бубабізм — була спрямована на перевертання "офіційної" культури, її сакральних ідолів та семіотичних кодів. А сама мапа карнавальних трансформацій включала в себе міграції, трансформації, фрагментацію, інтерналізацію, невротичну сублімацію та інші форми перевертання.¹⁸

Як відомо, саме карнавал став формулою нероздільності соціо-культурної та лінгвістичної гри для бубабістів у пізні 1980-і і ранні 1990-і роки, тобто в т. зв. перебудовчу еру. І не мало значення те, що карнавал в модерному суспільстві давно є кіchem, до того ж він часто виконує арбітрантну роль у процесі збереження офіційної ієрархії і влади. Так, на думку Пітера Стеллібрасса і Аллона Вайта, буржуазія як кляса використовує карнавал, маргіналізуючи його, вивищуючись і зрештою подавляючи його в процесі свого дистанціювання як певної кляси.¹⁹ Карнавал також має тимчасовий характер, тобто є певним концентрованим часопростором, і за ним стоїть Автор, чи Режисер, а його публічне святкування нагадує сплетений із вірьовок міст, що підвішений над прірвою, або, може, як у Андруховича, канат, на якому зависає над ямою театру Стас Перфецький?!

17. Михаїл Бахтин, *Творчество Франсуа Рабле и народная культура средневековья и Ренессанса* (Москва: Художественная литература, 1990), стор. 12, 15, 16.

18. Див. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, "Bourgeois Hysteria and the Carnivalesque," in *The Cultural Reader*, ed. Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 291.

19. Ibid., 290–2.

Ідея карнавалу, яку бубабісти сприйняли від Бахтіна, асоціювалася наприкінці 1980-х з національним відродженням і трактувалася як квінтесенція масового руху, зокрема молодіжного. Останній синхронізувався з політично активним на той час “Народним рухом”. Апoteоза бубабістського карнавалу — “Вивих-92”, однак, підтверджував, що, попри самовпевнену евфорію свободи бубабістів, існували ще й спецзагони міліції особливого призначення, готові “злапати” кожного, хто виходив з-поза гри (так у переказі Андруховича мало не сталося з головним режисером “ВивиХу” С. Проскурнею).

Карнавал — значною мірою явище словесної свідомості. Хоча словесні сміхові твори, різні форми й жанри фамільярно-публічного (майданного) мовлення Бахтін відрізняє від обрядово-видовищних форм (тобто святкувань карнавального типу), однак саме мовна гра стає основою карнавалізації. Як твердить Небораків Пляшкосмоктач, “якщо вже людина перейнята словом, то вона повинна зробити його сенсом свого існування. А вона ще й досі перебуває на роздоріжжі між словом і матерією”.²⁰ Ця сфера розриву слова і матерії ставала місцем, де розгорталася бубабістська лінгво-іронічна, майже кабалістична гра, яка разом з іншими сатаністсько/масонсько/офіційними псевдоритуалами надавала бубабізму майже містерійного характеру. Прикметне загалом андерграундне походження бубабізму (Андрухович: “Ким ми були? Сектою? Таємним клубом? Неформальним об’єднанням снобів? Зборищем ювенільних Vodka-Philosophen?”²¹).

Було б великим спрощенням сприймати, однак, перевертання офіційної, або високої культури, яке легалізує бахтінський карнавал, за винятково органічне явище, обумовлене амбівалентністю і творчою енергією низової свідомості і культури, як це твердив Бахтін. Як відомо, масова культура в постмодерну технологічну епоху послуговується моделями високої культури, не відкидаючи і не перевертаючи останнюю, а швидше перетворюючи її на ряд утилітарних “словників”. Це процес, що його можна віднести до форм не органічного, властивого модерній епосі, але “не найвного” постмодерного мислення. Твори бубабістів, які стали “читабельними” і які

20. Віктор Неборак, «(Пляшкосмоктач) — (Вода). Розділ із роману “Пан Базьо та решта”, Сучасність, 1994, ч. 5, стор. 55.

21. Юрій Андрухович, *Дезорієнтація на місцевості* (Івано-Франківськ: Лілея-НВ, 1999), стор. 110.

сформували феномен масового україномовного читача, власне ѿ поєднували в собі претенсії високої культури та форми масової літератури.

Бубабізм як кіч

Бахтінська карнавалізація заховувала у собі значну радикальну-пролетарську (низову) ідеологію (“переконання в необхідності і можливості радикальної зміни і оновлення всього існуючого”, Бахтін, стор. 302). Адже теорія карнавалізації, розроблена Бахтіним в сталінську епоху 1930-х, була породженням соціолінгвістичної практики саме тоталітарної епохи і по суті своїй була інверсією соціалістичного утопізму, що народжувався з інтелігентського неоромантичного волонтеризму, раціонального ідеалізму та політизації естетики. Іншими словами, бахтінський карнавалізм з його апологетикою низової культури ніс в собі перевернений, гротесково-демонічний топос плебейського реваншу. Перейнявши бахтінський карнавалізм, бубабісти несвідомо засвоїли і цей плебейський реваншизм. Він став основою для апології богемічного світовідчування.

Про це світовідчуття Андрухович зауважує: “Здається, що спершу то була не стільки естетика, скільки спосіб виживання. Або естетика як спосіб виживання. Чи навпаки. Іншими словами — спроба бути максимально вільними у загалом невільній ситуації”.²² Неборак солідаризується: “Мені здається, ми відтворювали дух того часу, коли людина поволі вилазила зі своєї машкари. За це нам і вдалося увагою. Хоча на місце однієї машкари часто наліплювалася інша”.²³ Естетизований карнавальний кіч ставав тією формою, через яку і в межах якої бубабісти відвоювали собі (і в цілому пізньототалітарному молодіжному соціуму) простір свободи. Бубабізм загалом прилучився (разом з іншими масовими дійствами того часу) до творення феномену власне українського кічмана — з когорти тих, хто почав читати, слухати, співати “бубів”. “Буби” — скорочена назва бубабістів, її по аналогії з німецькими хлопчиськами (“buben”) можна вважати кічевим прізвиськом бубабістів.

Бубабістський карнавал розгорнувся ритуально — як ряд символів та кодів іронічної поведінки й оцінки, що позначали перехід від офіціозного радянського до індивідуалістичного ліберального мислення. Така ритуальна функція рольових масок/персонажів поезо-

22. Андрухович, «Аве, “Крайслер”!», стор. 5.

23. Таран, «З висоти Літаючої голови», стор. 58.

опери “Крайслер Імперіал”. Така зрештою природа бубабістських метафор. Серед них “Крайслер Імперіал” (пришестя Нового Духу, ідея гангстеризму й підprivу в українській суспільності), “Королева дебілів” (еротизм і еротична транскрипція “причинної”), “Козак Ямайка” (постмодерна гіпостась Козака Мамая — “по сей бік Багама-мама по той бік пальми Гайті”), *Рекреації* (триєдність Поета, Коханця і Нарциса як основного суб'єкта національно-літературного відродження), “Літаюча голова” (актуалізована традиція — барокова метафора маски і площі), “Любіть Оклахому” (еротико-патріотична форма сублімації), “Турбація мас” (еротико-громадянська перверсивна функція Літератора).

Карнавал стає основною ідеєю бубабізму (від естетики до “прикладної квазіфілософії життя”, за Андруховичем), витворивши “фатальне й сакральне, універсальне й карнавальне Бу-Ба-Бу”. “Сама назва натякає на щось непристойне, спорзне, хуліганське — Бу-Ба-Бу. Саме так: бабу би!”²⁴ Маскулінна експлікація Бу-Ба-Бу була очевидною.

Що значив карнавал для бубабістів? Велику Гру та ілюзію свободи, а також перемогу життя над смертю в найзагальнішому сенсі. Іншими словами, відновлення душі (а точніше, “малих” локальних наративів). Бо “чи може померти душа з її кров’ю та реготом, поезія, лихослів’я, вино, музика, балаган, любов, зухвальство, буфонада, ритуал, магія, театр, ще раз буфонада, сміх, плач, кайф, смак, джаз, рок, джаз-рок?”²⁵ Як показує історія Бу-Ба-Бу, — може, коли закінчується молодість, гра, коли визнаєш, як Неборак у “Відліті з Академічної року Божого 1997-го”, “Академічна, сестро, ти нікуди не ведеш!”²⁶ (Академічна — одна з вулиць бубабістського карнавалу у Неборака). “В добу банкнотну я відбув!”²⁷ — візнається ліричний герой Неборака і графічно вписує у нову “банкнотну” добу саме явище Бу-Ба-Бу. Загалом, здається, саме Неборак з його іронічно-гностичною амбівалентністю (бо ще в “Літаючій голові” передчував: “Наш балаган вертається у мушлю по спіралі”) переживає найбільше розчарування в “іронічному негативі” карнавалу, що поступово перетворюється на фетиш і топос свавілля.

24. Андрухович, «Аве, “Крайслер”!», стор. 8.

25. Там же, стор. 14.

26. Віктор Неборак, «Відліт з Академічної року Божого 1997-го», *Літос-протон: Книга зібраного* (Львів: ЛП, 2001), стор. 417.

27. Там же, стор. 416.

Досвід бубабістської гри з карнавалом підтверджує ту тезу, що в нові часи культурно й соціально карнавал може бути лише організованою акцією. В цьому сенсі карнавал минущий і навіть фальшивий. Оскільки він спрямований на домінування “низу” та ілюзію переживання єдності (колективного гротескового тіла), він зрівнює, скажімо, вуличне свято і ГУЛАГ, оскільки в обох випадках все зведене до гіпертрофованої тілесності, анонімного додавання-віднімання людських одиниць, до фізичного візуального ряду й перманентного спектаклю. Абсурдність такої тотожності можна підкреслити, звівши їх поруч, як це зроблено у фільмі Роберто Беніні “Життя прекрасне”.

“Кожен з нас однаково дихає, п’є, кохає, смердить”,²⁸ — проголошує представник “великої нації” Юра Голіцин в *Московіаді* Андруховича, цьому романі-фейлетоні про імперію та постімперський дискурс. І саме це дає, на його думку, підстави для того, щоб “бути разом” і почувати себе “великою родиною”. Сфальшовані радянською ідеологією братерство, свобода, рівність — спільна основа і карнавалу, і соціокультурного феномену кічу. Кіч, як відомо, базується на принципах гомогенності й уніфікації стилю, на культі краси та репродукції об’єктів-фетишів. Він створює ілюзію вселюдської єдності, а також імітує задоволення і справдження бажання. Його світ спокусливий і підроблений, де образ домінує над предметом і над реальністю, де усунена всяка гетерогенність і амбівалентність пізнання, де наявне фальшиве зависання над буттям і комфортне забуття.

Кіч також прикметний ритмічними повторами, доведенням до автоматизму мовлення і нарцисичною дзеркальністю слів-фетишів. Саме такі лінгвістичні форми полюбляє Андрухович у своїй прозі, граючись “списками” імен як своєрідними симулякрами: “Хіба піти спитатися у Дзержинського. У Залізного Фелікса. Ні, в Залізного Зігфрида. У Конрада Клауса Еріха Дзержинського. Або в Райнера Анзельма Віллібальда Кірова. Або у Вольфганга Теодора Амадея Леніна”.²⁹ Мова відтак стає імітацією. Саме це, до речі стає підставою мовно-іронічної карнавальності бубабістів, яка зрідні постмодерністському кічу. При цьому цитати стають взаємозамінними й анонімними, а культура зводиться до бібліотечного колектора, майже аналогічного до каналізаційного колектора. Але це не дивує,

28. Андрухович, *Московіада*, стор. 144.

29. Там же, стор. 185.

бо, як винахідливо відзначає у своїх псевдозаготовках до Нобелівської лекції Отто фон Ф. (*Московіада*), “зрештою, будь-яка бібліотека — це велика (більша чи менша) каналізація людського духу”³⁰

Цілком у згоді з карнавалом-кічем автор теж стає змійно-змінним, адже “яка різниця, як називається оце тлінне тіло? Головне — безсмертна душа. А душа не має земного імені, затисне для неї будь-яке з імен людських. Якоюсь мірою й ви не Артур”,³¹ — так, від-дзеркалюючи “постмодерну ситуацію”, іронізує двійник Отто фон Ф. — кадебіст “Сашко”.

Атрибутом бубабістського кічу-карнавалу стає нарцисизм. Можна розглядати всі перевертання і всіх двійників і масок, скажімо, *Рекреацій* Андруховича як розгортання глобальної метафори поетичного українського нарцисизму — тут “зовнішні” і “внутрішні” голоси його поетів-богемістів розподіляються між “прекрасним поетом”, “колосальним поетом” і “величезним поетом”, хіба що можна додати сюди ще й “великого сплячого пророка”. Гра з Нарцисом у бубабістів відбувалася в міру того, як легко вони насичували свої твори, особливо прозові, біографізмом, відлунням справжніх імен та впізнаваною зовнішністю. В такий спосіб творився нарцисичний кічевий образ бубабістів. А через нього — і образ українського богеміста 1990-х.

Карнавал як доконаний факт

Карнавал, звичайно, тримається на карнавалізації, однак остання не зводиться винятково і єдино до карнавалу. В карнавалізації захована форма іронізму і подвійний *ludus modus* (подвійна ігрова поведінка), що виводить поза межі самого карнавалу як соціокультурної акції. Карнавалізація, скажімо так, пульсує карнавалами, але лише для того, щоб їх відкинути і ствердити безконечність самого буття. Водночас подвійна ігрова функція карнавалізації (серед інших) полягає в тому, щоб підкреслити випадковість і самої гри. Її афірмативна функція виявляється в тому, щоб ствердити не те, що було репресованим, а те, що твориться і знаходиться в процесі становлення впродовж самого карнавалу.

Блеф карнавалу виявився вже у *Рекреаціях* Андруховича, де карнавалізація пронизує різні рівні соціальної, культурної, еротичної

30. Там же, стор. 194.

31. Там же, стор. 202–3.

поведінки персонажів та переносить свято з площі Ринок на маргінези бічних вулиць та околиць. При цьому сміхова природа карнавалу з його перевертаннями-перевдяганнями виявляється лише поверховою імітацією. Насправді глибша іронічна перспектива усієї акції полягає в тому, що навіть військовий переворот може бути оформленним як маскарад. Метафізика карнавалу — вільний і близький людський контакт, також виявляється лише ілюзією (так як зустріч рук Мартофляка й Марти у фіналі повісті).

Як соціокультурна акція, карнавал ніс в собі фальш (чи видимість) перевертання авторитетних ролей і масок та ілюзорність виходу з непереборних комплексів (національних, історичних, родинних). Він потребував кривавих жертв, скажімо, ініціації Хомського пов'язані з побиттям вуличного наркомана. Кожен з персонажів *Рекреації*, переживши свій власний тілесно-інкарнований карнавал, залишається самотнім і одиноким (а, як відомо, сенс карнавалу, за Бахтіним, — це переживання єдності). Буквальним і символічним падінням закінчуються спроби перегравання-повторення родової (та австро-“європейської”) історії для Гриця Штундери і Юрка Немирича. Здається, нічого не змінюють у характерах псевдо-інцестуальні та трансверсивні еротизми Мартофляка і Хомського.

Загалом, весь карнавал виявляється всього-навсього легалізованою формою соціокультурного “збочення”, дозволеного владою. Постать “найбільшого” режисера всіх часів і народів, що проглядається за сценою карнавалу, легко відштовхуючись від Сергія Проскурні, переростає в демонічний образ зла, в якому зливаються не лише бароковий розбійник Мацапура, але й естетизований образ Берії. (Демонічний підтекст “великої змови” легко проглядається і в *Перверзії* та *Московіаді*).

Відкриваючи цю демонічну гіпостась карнавалу як імітації, буба-бізм стає не іронічним, але апокаліптичним видовищем. Він також виявляється явищем, вписаним у структури офіційної культури. Карнавал — ілюзія свободи, випробування свободою — розчищає шлях для інакшої (або псевдоінакшої) офіційної культури. Свідченням цього можна вважати руйнування письменницької ієрархії, традиційної ще з радянських часів, і творення нової офіційної культури, куди включені вже і такі молодші автори, як Олесь Улянененко, вген Пашковський, Ігор Римарук, Василь Герасим'юк, В'ячеслав Медвідь. Прикметна в цьому зв'язку також пропозиція

щодо висунення Андруховича на Шевченківську премію.³² На тлі офіціялізації пост-радянської літератури карнавальний Бу-Ба-Бу заграє з маскультом і кічем (саме кічем, зрештою, були всі перформенси і презентації Бу-Ба-Бу).³³

В найзагальнішому сенсі, граючись у карнавал, бубабісти показали переродження традиційного феодального українського суспільства на суспільство спектаклю, за Гіем Дебором. Іншими словами, вони метафорично змоделювали (і загострили) ідею демократичного суспільства, яке, за Дебором, є передусім споживацьким, де все купується, рекламиється і продается, отже, суцільним спектаклем. Візія пришестя такого Вічного Свята-Кічу асоціюється для Євгена Пашковського з “добою театралізації, вгодованих блазнів, блискучих нікчем”. “Доба, пойменована абсурдною, знадлива для любителів повістюбуватись, покрасуватись, добігає скону,” кидає він виклик бубабістській карнавалізації, “заповівши наступному століттю випробувати, чого ж варті стьоб і краскування за античної можливості посерйозніти на очах глядачів, бо з тієї сцени немає втеч, між публіку, в маси, загубитися до фіналу”.³⁴ (Виділено мною — Т. Г.)

Бажання врятувати „книжний” світ і виміряти силу слова всупереч наступу маскульти, телекомунікації і технологій базується у Пашковського не на грі, а на одкровенні — у післячорнобильську епоху він хоче такої щирості у письмі, від якої б зашкаплювало серце, і асоціює своє авторство з “безіменними графітовими стрижнями” в пеклі чорнобильського реактора. Апокаліптичний світ правдошукуання Пашковського ще гостріше віддзеркалює іронію і подвійне дно карнавалу. Утопічна й ідеальна функції останнього розбиваються, зустрічаючись з екзистенційною мукою ліричного “я” Пашковського. Натомість у світі іронічно-гротесковому карнавал відновлюється за допомогою пародії. Це ми бачимо у *Перверзії*, де опера опер “Орфей у Венеції”, цей воїстину постмодерний симулякр і псевдо-карнавал, що складається з повторень і цитат, раптово стає полем свободи — сценою народження “справжнього Орфея”. Перфецький, головний protagonіст роману, рятується від переслідувань

32. Як відомо, Андрухович відмовся взяти участь у конкурсі.

33. Див. Юрій Андрухович, Андрій Бондар і Сергій Жадан, *Маскульт: Есеї та поезії з нових книжок* (Київ: Критика, 2003), стор. 8–17.

34. Євген Пашковський, *Щоденний жезл: Роман-есей* (Київ: Генеза, 1999), стор. 74.

саме тим, що втікає з публіки на сцену, потрапляючи таким чином у нову гру.

Так, Андрухович нав'язливо-іронічно заплутує нас у грі і безко- нечних трансформаціях свого “вічного” героя. Лише в сенсі такого “підвішеного” іронізму-карнавалізму можемо прочитувати бубабізм як явище постмодернізму. Отож “кінець карнавалу”, проголошений самими “бубами”, не стільки знаменував завершення карнавального постмодернізму, скільки означав здійснення карнавалу. Створивши його, одні з бубабістів (як Неборак) переживають “занапашення”, що відбулося “за всіма правилами ритуалу”, коли “Сина Людського перетворюють на Культивовану Річ”.

Я залишив позаду — себе, як дурний серіал,
як ланцюг перевтілень, як фотоальбоми, як зал,
повний воску фігур чи гіпсу скульптур або шкір
і опудал. Я виліз назовні. Я вивільнив зір³⁵

Інші — як Андрухович — натякають на Вічне Повернення, разом із своїм тотемом Перфецьким-Рибою зникаючи у водах венеційського каналу.

Посмертна енциклопедична довідка “Бу-Ба-Бу”:

Період найактивнішої діяльності Бу-Ба-Бу (23 концертні поетичні вечори) перепав на 1987—1991 рр. Апофеозом Бу-Ба-Бу став фестиваль “Вивих-92”, коли головну фестивальну акцію склали чотири постановки (1—4.10.1992) поезоопери Бу-Ба-Бу “Крайслер Імперіал” (режисер С. Проскурня). У 1996 р. друкований проект “Крайслер Імперіал” («Четвер-6»), ілюстрований Юрієм та Ольгою Кохами, практично завершив динамічний період існування Бу-Ба-Бу.³⁶

Повернення Бу-Ба-Бу

Втеча-від-утопії, що означила період посткомунізму, загалом вплинула на розуміння можливостей постмодернізму. Доводиться прислухатися до думки Мігая Сегедь-Масака, “що саме перехід від комунізму до посткомунізму вельми ймовірно спричинив занепад постмодернізму”.³⁷ Послідовний постмодернізм неминуче розходи-

35. Неборак, «Епос про тридцять п’яту хату», *Лігострон*, стор. 367.

36. «Бу-Ба-Бу», *Плерома* 3’98: *Мала українська енциклопедія актуальної літератури. Проект повернення деміургів*, упор. Юрій Андрухович (Івано-Франківськ: Лілея-НВ, 1998), стор. 35.

37. Мігай Сегедь-Масак, «Постмодерність і посткомунізм», *Критика*, 1998, ч.

ться із карнавалом, оскільки в основі останнього, як уже говорилося, соціально-культурний утопізм і агресивність “низу”. Сам же постмодернізм, попри всю свою несерйозність і гру, повернув нам цінність не “великих ілюзій”, а “маленьких нараторивів”, таких, як людський контакт, розуміння, відкладання смерти, інтрига знання, неповерненність миттєвості, незнищенність словника. Зрештою, те ж саме робили й бубабісти.

Карнавал з природи своєї іронічний, але не героїчний, він віталістично-еротичний, а не маскулінний. Поступово, однак, проявилось щось загальне для бубабістського карнавалу-кічу, а саме — його супергерой, що поводиться мов суперман. В певному сенсі бубабізм ніс в собі саме нарцисм супергероя і був критикою національного Поета-Месії з позиції Поета-Богеміста. Зрештою, в цьому зізнається й Андрухович: “героєм (антигероєм?)” кожного з його романів “є поет-богема, який знаходиться в центрі фатальних петретворень фізики в метафізику”. Заявлена інверсією назви (Ба-Бу-Би!) маскулінність карнавалу пізніше підтвердила появою літературного гурту “Пси Святого Юра”, утвореного на взірець лицарського ордену. До нього ввійшли всі бубабісти. Очікування ренесансного відродження асоціюється для Юрія Покальчука, одного з членів літературного гурту, з образом Святого Юра, який вбиває змія. “Упокорення змія — насамперед упокорення себе, власного шалу, вияв одвічної потреби чоловічого начала перемогти себе,” говориться у програмному виступі гурту. “Бо ж, урешті, що таке змій, як не жінка, що обвивається довкола стовбура чоловічості”.³⁸ Скандално відомим стало також Неборакове антифеміністично спрямоване визначення “киці-постмодерністки”: “Киця — це пухнаста система, самодостатня і незалежна, / Як імператриця”, однак, “бодай раз на рік потребує, нещасна, / Кота!”³⁹

“Всі ви знаєте тільки себе”, підсумувала бубабістський супермансько-нарцисичний комплекс Марта в *Рекреаціях*, ніби відсилаючи до бахтінського карнавалу з його “низовою”, а отже й “фемінною” основою.

5, стор. 20.

38. Юрій Покальчук, «Вершник летить над світом», *Пси Святого Юра: Літературний альманах* ([Львів]: Просвіта, 1997), стор. 10.

39. Неборак, «Визначення киці», *Літострон*, стор. 379–80.

Юрій Андрухович: мутації карнавалу

Прозова трилогія Юрія Андруховича закріплювала метаморфози ідеї карнавалу і розгортання постмодерністського мислення. Перша повість, *Рекреації*, демістифікувала ідеал національного Поета, занурюючи в колообіг карнавалізованого, фалічного Свята Народного Духа персони і маски бубабістів (у післяслові від автора “Життя є сон” [1997] Андрухович ще раз ствердить “біографічність”, а не “літературність” його герой). Автор з’єднує еротику, патріотику і супер-героїку та перемелює ідентичності кожного з персонажів у грі-перевертанні. Це автопародія Бу-Ба-Бу, яка разом з тим говорить про подолання відчуження від власної природи, від історії та справжньої любові і натякає на повне банкротство будь-якого оновлення чи зміни шляхом карнавалу.

Інший учасник гурту Бу-Ба-Бу Віктор Неборак пізніше здійснить вже не лише автобіографічну, але й архетипну аналізу феномена карнавалу. Прообразом останнього послужить для нього травестійована бурлескна *Енеїда* Івана Котляревського, річ майже культова для бубабістів. Цей твір приваблює останніх стихією барокою гри, стилізації, іронії, а також чи не вперше заявленим в українській літературі правом на авторську свободу.⁴⁰ Аналізуючи твір Котляревського, Неборак зіставляє два архетипи — “викорінення” і “вкорінення”, несерйозну гру і сакральний ритуал, маргіналізацію і спротив демонізму та злу. Здається неймовірним, але архетипний “буб” — Еней, “хлопець хоч куди козак”, раптом стає в нього злодієм і носієм зла, а майже богемні походеньки героя в *Енеїді* Котляревського асоціюються з небезпекою маргіналізації.⁴¹

Архетип карнавалу, за Віктором Тернером, — порогова ситуація і ритуал переходу. Майдан — місце лімінальне, центр, де здійснюється гра. В процесі гри-переходу гравці періодично викидаються на периферію ігрового простору, отже *гра маргіналізує*. Демонізм гри з особливою силою виявляється саме в цьому явищі маргіналізації. Таким чином, з часом гра — стихія бубів і самого Неборака як одного з карнавалістів — раптом почала відлякувати демонізмом, а свобода, яку пропонував карнавал, показалась своєвідлям

40. Прикметно, що 1998 року бубабісти відсвяткували двохстолітній ювілей з часу виходу у світ *Енеїди* Котляревського.

41. Віктор Неборак, *Перечитана “Енеїда”: Спроба сенсового прочитання “Енеїди” Івана Котляревського на тлі зіставлення її з “Енеїдою” Вергелія* (Львів: ЛВІЛШ – Астрон, 2001).

маргінала. Для Неборака гра пов'язана з “викоріненням”, як, скажімо, у бігу навипередки, коли ноги виявляються зв'язаними і заплутаними (як у мішковині). Окрім фізичного викорінення також завжди є небезпека зупинитися в грі, не дійшовши до її кінця, і отже — не відбути колообіг ігрового перетворення-ініціації-духовного посвячення.

Подібна метафізика гри відкривається Неборакові в процесі перечитування сміхової *Енеїди* Котляревського. Зрештою, мандри Енея-богеми можна вважати архетипним образом для бубабістів, а *Енеїду* — твором у символічному сенсі мета-автобіографічним. Виходячи з круговерті трансформацій і маскарадних мутацій, побачених через *Енеїду*, Неборак фактично проаналізував “бубабіста” як архетип героя, що “викорінюється”.

Зрештою, Неборак лише узагальнив ту метафізику карнавалу, яка періодично озвучувалася і в романах Андруховича. “Роман жахів” Андруховича *Московіада* занурює читача в атмосферу Москви як метрополії і столиці мертвої імперії. Ходіння українця по колах і поверхах міста-привида супроводжується іронізмом і пародіюванням знаків-символів імперії. Точніше було б назвати цей твір романом-апокрифом. Паралельно відбувається, однак, витончення колоніяльного суб’єкта до тіні-жертви.

Карнавалізація щодо неіснуючої вже імперії зводиться до майже некрофілічної бравади насправді безсилого колоніяльного суб’єкта, який прагне демонструвати свою суперманську еротичну агресію, хоча єдиною сферою його дій стає мова. Мовна гра, словесні кліше і лакуни (неофіційна лексика) — чи не єдине поле самовираження і свободи постколоніяльного українського суб’єкта (супермана!) на чужій території. Перевертання верху і центру не відбувається, оскільки вони вже й так позбавлені влади.

Нагадаю, що *Москва-Петушки* Єрофеєва загалом демонструє, що карнавалізація не неминуче потребує перевертання центру з позиції маргінальності або низу.⁴² Разом зі своїм Венічкою

42. Закономірний у цьому зв'язку єрофеєвський антикарнавалізм. М. Епштейн прочитує його як полеміку з М. Бахтіним: “Феномен Венічки, виростаючи з пантагрюелізму, переростає його,” твердить він, “карнавал сам стає об’єктом карнавалу, що виводить в сферу нової, особливої серйозності”. І далі: Бахтін “відчув у єрофеєві своє, яке вже стає чужим. Відчув карнавал, який перестає бути карнавалом” («После карнавала, или вечный Веничка», у кн. Венедикт Єрофеев, *Оставьте мою душу в покое: (Почти все)* (Москва: Изд-во ХГС, 1995), стор. 18–19).

Єрофеєв не прагне перебороти антиномічність центру і периферії, тілесності і духовності, влади і суб'єктивності. Але він апофатично, майже за св. Августином, стверджує, що падіння, низ і є най-справжнішим піднесенням, або верхом, і перевертати їх не варто. Це — інакший тип карнавалізації як іронізму, який в українській літературі лишився невикористаним, розпавшись на мовно-культурну (навіть культову!) субверсивну гру Андруховича і маргінально-апокаліптичну анти-гру (серйозність) Ульяненка, Пашковського, Медведя.

Роман Андруховича *Перверзія* (1995) — антологія постмодерністської гетероглосії — матеріалізація всіх масок “суперманства” бубабізму (богеміста, коханця, колоніяльного суб’єкта, супергероя), а також визнання банкрутства останнього. Це також спроба перетворити соціокультурний іронічний міт Бу-Ба-Бу на езотерично-метафізичний (вічне неповернення Орфея, або містерія Цар-Риба). Субверсивно-іронічна природа постколоніяльного героя-бубабіста, архітипового трікстера-енейця, виявляється не новою спробою “поправити” Європу Україною, цими “обпліваними маргінесами Європи”. Західній імітації культури і декадансу т.зв. західного фалоцентризму романтично протиставляється український орфейзм-еротизм та ідея вічного карнавалу під виглядом Містерії Чоловіка і Жінки.

Коли ж брати цю зустріч із Заходом постмодерністськи, вона відлунює цитатою з минулого. У манускрипті 17 ст. “Реляції про походження та звичаї козаків” Альберто Віміни, яка зберігається у музеї Венеції, автор відзначає, що козакам не бракувало “приємності й дотепності в розмові”. На підтвердження він наводить таку історію: “Мій помічник оповідав про велич і чудеса Венеції, що про них присутнім цікаво було дізнатися, тож, розповівши достатньо про страви, про ремесла, про багатства, додав про силу-силенну вулиць, кажучи, що стільки є різних завулків, що й самим венеційцям неважко заблукати в місті. “Ні,” мовив козак, “тут ти мене Венецією не здивуєш, бо зі мною трапляється таке саме в цій тісній кімнаті: після того, як посиджу декілька годин за цим столом, я не можу знайти двері, щоб повернутися додому”.⁴³ Саме так по-українськи, в категоріях іронічних, знімається властива модерним часам опозиція Захід-Україна. Відповідно венеційська “Реляція” стає ніби

43. Альберто Віміна, «Реляція про походження та звичаї козаків», *Київська старовина*, 1999, ч. 5, стор. 69.

дзеркалом *Перверзії*, а сама *Перверзія* — “приємною і дотепною розмовою” із самої “Реляції”.

Гіперпростір стилізації *Перверзії* засвідчуває, що важливою формою і місцем реалізації бажань та інтенцій посттоталітарного українського суб’єкта на теренах нововідкритої Європи стає участь у творенні і споживання особливого різновиду кічу, який можна назвати “європейськістю”. Саме там — всередині кічової “Європи” — легко артикулює себе переважно нарцисично настроєний український “провінціял” Центрально-Східної Європи. Його сфера, як влучно іронізує Андрухович, “розмови про Європу, Європу, про європейськість, європейське значення-призначення, європейську культуру і кухню, про шлях до Європи, про те, що ‘і ми в Європі’”.⁴⁴

Посттоталітарний кіч

Загалом, посттоталітарна свідомість легко сприйнятлива до різного роду кічів — туристичних, карнавальних, популістських, навіть санітарних (типу *євремонту*). Зрештою, причини цього очевидні — занадто швидкий перехід від “радянської” ідентичності до “споживацької”, надмірна стерильність та офіціозність високої культури, культивованої за часів тоталітаризму, ідеологізм масової культури соціалістичного зразка, а ще — відсутність імунітету до кічу. Адже загальною формою мистецтва в тоталітарному суспільстві стає кіч. Тоталітарний кіч, як зауважує Террі Іглтон, це такий дискурс, який відкидає всі сумніви й іронію. Він уникає й вигладжує зловісні гримаси скаліченого життя й ментальності. Натомість він стверджується через сміх і щирість, сяючіс та евфорію щастя і єдності, під веселе маршування вперед до світлого майбутнього. Підтримується він культом героїв, мітами і параболами, пристосованими до політичних моментів та ідеологічних цілей. Романтична ідеалізація, сентиментальність та колективна образність служать підґрунтям такого типу дискурсу.⁴⁵

Але в тоталітарному суспільстві формується й інакший кіч, який проявляє демонічний бік тоталітаризму. Він базується на карнавальному світовідчуванню, протистоїть світові офіційного Свята і генерує колективну енергію, яка підтримує ідеологічну владу, творячи

44. Юрій Андрухович, *Дезорієнтація на місцевості*, стор. 119.

45. Eagleton, “Estrangement and Irony”, 95.

своєрідну “тіньову” і неофіційну культуру у формі, наприклад, анекdotів, андерграундного руху, ескапістського бардівського руху.

Бубабізм, виникнувши в пізньому тоталітарному суспільстві і прийнявши форму карнавалу, використав форми деромантизації й іронізму, заховані в демонізуючому кічі. В кінцевому, бубабізм і сам став демонічним кічем посттоталітарної доби. Його претензія бути водночас і постмодернізмом виявилася у тому, що відторгував карнавал як тимчасову радість і як “низову” революцію та відкрив спокусливість ілюзією Свята. І хоча карнавал, як проголосили бубабісти, закінчився, але породжена ним карнавалізована свідомість і гротескове тіло — “бажаюча машина” симулякрів задоволення і споживання — вже живуть самі по собі. Кіч спокусив і маргіналізував бубабізм.

Bu-Ba-Bu: Poetry and Performance

Mark Andryczyk

Cultural historians researching the 1990s Ukrainian culture will undoubtedly come across the literary group known as Bu-Ba-Bu,¹ which played an important creative role in that decade. Much has already been written about Bu-Ba-Bu's three members, Iurii Andrukhovych, Oleksandr Irvanets, and Viktor Neborak, the ideas and motives behind their activities and the style of their writings. In their analyses, critics have concentrated chiefly on the group's carnivalized interpretation of life and the parodic nature of its works. I shall discuss a particular aspect of Bu-Ba-Bu that is a key element of its creative philosophy and an important factor in establishing its prominent position in Ukrainian culture of the 1990s, namely, performance. I shall begin by analyzing the idea of performance in Bu-Ba-Bu's poetry and prose and by examining how its members adapted rock'n'roll forms and imagery to express this idea. I shall provide examples of how this idea was implemented by giving a brief history of the public performances of Bu-Ba-Bu in the 1990s. I shall conclude by pointing out how the implementation of Bu-Ba-Bu's concept of performance came to define cultural activity in Ukraine's first decade of independence for many of today's Ukrainian intellectuals and how this established Bu-Ba-Bu as a central phenomenon of this period.

Literary Performance: Concepts and Characters

Bu-Ba-Bu's particular interpretation of the relationship between literature and performance is rooted in the creative philosophy the group fashioned for itself and can be revealed by examining elements of performance that pervade the writings of its three members. From its formation in 1985, Bu-Ba-Bu pursued the collective objective of infusing Ukrainian literature with

1. Bu-Ba-Bu is an acronym created from the first two letters of the words *burlesk* (burlesque), *balahan* (farce), and *bufonada* (buffoonery).

the carnival spirit, exploding the restrictive seriousness of literature, and redefining the duties of the Ukrainian writer. Besides wearing literary masks in their poetry (in order to play with the idea of subjectivity), Andrukhoverych, Irvanets, and Neborak openly experimented with the Ukrainian language by cutting it up and reassembling it. Rabelais' tragicomic literary celebrations and Mikhail Bakhtin's interpretation of them inspired Bu-Ba-Bu and the two authors were adopted as "godfathers" by the young Ukrainian writers who set out to change the traditional lugubrious image of Ukrainian literature in society.

In his interview with Liudmyla Taran, Neborak described Bu-Ba-Bu's attempts at redirecting the attention of poets from internal subjective states to external, objective reality.² This was a transformation that Neborak believes Ukrainians, especially young ones, longed for in the late 1980s because they were bored with poets writing only about themselves.³ The carnival form enabled the Bubabists to introduce these readers to another world and to use the stage for peeling off the hermetic layers of subjectivity, which encased poetry, and for presenting another creative world to the public. A poet's act of assuming a mask in order to present a third-person perspective in a poem logically leads to his delivering the text through the character of the mask. The Bubabists' collective presentation of their poetry assumed the form of a polyphonic dialogue in a theatrical performance. Thus, the performance of their poetry on stage enabled the Bubabists not only to adhere to their theoretical literary credos of polyphony and carnival, but also to bring their ideas to life before a real audience.

In addition to these artistic motivations, there were two socio-economic considerations that were pertinent to Bu-Ba-Bu and the public performance of literary works. The first was the dissolution of socialist realism in Ukrainian culture. Bu-Ba-Bu arrived on the literary scene at the onset of glasnost in the Soviet Union and developed hand in hand with Ukraine's evolution to independence. The late 1980s and the early 1990s was a period in which many official Soviet writers nervously tested the boundaries of their newfound creative freedom. Some poets who had glorified the Communist Party in their works were suddenly forced to face their past at public gatherings, such as the poetry evenings organized by Les Taniuk at the Molodizhnyi Theatre in Kyiv. They read their verses alongside writers who had not compromised themselves by serving the Party of the

2. "Z vysoty Litaiuchoi holovy, abo Zniaty masku," *Suchasnist*, 1994, no. 5: 57–63.

3. Viktor Neborak, "Karnaval v ukrainskii literaturi," interview with Lidia Stefanowska, *Zustrichi*, no. 8 (1994), 159–66.

Soviet state. As a result the audience became aware of the difference between sincere and insincere poetry. In his article on inauthenticity and insincerity in poetry, Alex Neill suggests that insincerity in a poem is an example of inauthenticity in art.⁴ In reciting one's poem before an audience the poet can demonstrate that the poem is authentic. When the Ukrainian audience gained the right to demand sincerity from its poets, the Bubabists capitalized on the audience's expectations by aggressively performing their texts in public. Each member of Bu-Ba-Bu, even when he was speaking in a masked third-person voice, presented part of his own views and ideas, not Party doctrine. Bu-Ba-Bu took advantage of the new freedom to be honest with the audience by making performance a key element of their creative activity.

The other reason for performing texts was economic, but it included political elements. Unofficial writers in the Soviet Union were not allowed to publish their works and, as a result, were limited to reading them before a trusted group of colleagues. Thus when the opportunity to recite one's texts publicly arrived with glasnost, these men and women were better prepared for an honest public performance than published official writers. But writers' resources did not match their freedom to publish. Lacking the financial means to print their works, they turned to performing them. To this day, performance is an integral part of writers' creative existence. Bu-Ba-Bu made performance a cornerstone of its philosophy.

Performance in Bu-Ba-Bu Texts

We can see the importance that performance held for Bu-Ba-Bu by looking at their texts. In many of their poems, Neborak, Andrukhovych and Irvanets presented characters who are performers. This can be seen in Irvanets's "Do frantsuzkoho shansonie" (To a French Chansonnier), in which he makes the connection between poetry, music, and performance:

Це є поезія найвища
Це є найвища простота,
Коли передаються вірші,
Як поцілунки — з уст в уста.

Твої пісні легкі і світлі
(Їх так сприймають слухачі),

4. Alex Neill, "Inauthenticity, Insincerity, and Poetry," in *Performance and Authenticity in the Arts*, ed. Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 197–214.

Та пам'ятай — у цьому світі
Є свистуни і стукачі.

А ти — гітара, гілка з дерева,
І ти сьогодні на кону.
Скажи, кому твоя заревана
Душа потрібна, ну, кому?..⁵

Litaiucha holova (Flying Head), Neborak's best-known book of poetry, includes several poems with subtitles referring to the performance of the poem. For example, the cycle "Vona" (She) is subtitled "Performance by the group Children of the Queen," "Karkolomni perevitlennia" (Breakneck Reincarnations) is introduced as a "poetry show," and "Vystup hrupy 'Liutsyfer'" (A Performance by the band Lucifer) claims to be a part of the rock opera *Shcho kryietsia v temriavi?* (What Is Hiding in the Darkness). Other poems even feature subtitles that designate which musicians (real and imaginary) are to perform the text.⁶ As a result, the poems in *Litaiucha holova* are connected as elements of a carnival and the collection has a dramatic unity.

In one of his early poems Andrukhovych addresses his creative instincts as he prepares to release his poetic creations, which he calls "my little devils," into the world:

Агов, мої маленькі чортенята!
З-під свити я вас випущу на світ —

туди, де кров з любов'ю черленяється,
де пристрастей і пропастей сувій...

5. It's the loftiest of poetry / The loftiest simplicity, / When poems are communicated, / As kisses are—mouth to mouth. // All your songs are light and luminous, / (That's how audiences hear them), / You must remember: in this world, / There are liars and deceivers // Yet you are a guitar—a tree branch, / And today you are on stage. / Tell us who needs your weeping / Soul. Well who?... (Oleksandr Irvanets, "Do frantsuzkoho shansonie," in *Bu-Ba-Bu: Tymchasovo vykonuiuchi oboviazky/Mahistriv H/ry v osobakh Patriarkha Bu-Ba-Bu Iuriia Andrukhovycha* (nar. 13.03.1960), *Pidskarbiia Bu-Ba-Bu Oleksandra Irvantsia* (nar. 24.01.1961), *Prokuratora Bu-Ba-Bu Viktora Neboraka* (nar. 09.05.1961), *zibrani z nahody storichchia (34+33+33) ikhnikh urodyn, iake vypovnylosia 9 travnia 1994 roku vid Rizdva Khristovoho* [Lviv: Kameniar, 1995], 116, ll. 1–12. Translated by me with the assistance of Yaryna Yakubyak). The *Bu-Ba-Bu* volume is the first publication in which all three of the Bubabists, and only they, are featured.

6. See Viktor Neborak, *Litaiucha holova* (Kyiv: Molod, 1990). The designated real performers include Kost Moskalets, Viktor Morozov, and the Neborak Rock Band, headed by Neborak's brother.

Я — ваш отець, тож будьте мені вірні!
 (які невірні рими в голові!),
 але коли до серця входять вірші —
 прекрасні, наче крила голубів,
 які тоді надії!..

З риторик і поетик академій
 гайда на площеу, як на дно ріки!
 Підслухані у вирі цілоденнім,
 ті рими — вчителям наперекір
 (у вчителів, здається, перекір)!
 Або в поля, як на зелену прошу —
 читати вірші травам і вітрам!..
 І постараїтесь, я вас дуже прошу,
 щоб явір тихі сліози витираю,
 щоб небо, нахилившиесь, наслухало,
 щоб завше був натхненний соловій...
 Хвалу воздавши часові зухвалу,
 звірят і пастухів благословіть!..

Отож, — на світ, за діло — Чарувати!
 Агов, мої маленькі чортенята!⁷

The poet empowers his poems with the ability and mission to enchant the world. The fact that he calls them “little devils” accentuates Bu-Ba-Bu’s play with the idea that words have a demonic world-shattering potential. This Faustian notion is a favourite theme in Andrukhovych’s exploration of the

7. Hey, my little devils! / From under my cloak I send you into the world— // into that place where blood and love do blush, / where passions and voids are bound in scrolls ... / I am your father, be faithful to me! / (oh, what straying rhythms cloud the head!), / but when poems enter the heart— / beautiful as if doves’ wings / then what hope there is!... // Away from academic rhetoric and poetics— / off to the square, like to the river bed! / Those rhymes overheard in the daily din / are not those heard by teachers / (the teachers must have had too much to teach!) / Or go into the fields, like onto a green pilgrimage— / to read poems to the grasses and the wind!... / And do your best, I beg of you, / so the maple may wipe away quiet tears, / so the sky, bowing down, may listen in, / so the nightingale may ever be inspired ... / Having praised time unduly, / go glorify the animals and shepherds!... // And so, go forth, get to work, enchant! / Hey, my little devils! (Iurii Andrukhovych, “Pisnia mandrivnoho spudeia”, in *Ekzotychni ptakhy i roslyny* [Ivano-Frankivsk: Lileia-NV, 1997], 4). The example consists of the whole poem. Translated by me with the assistance of Yaryna Yakubyak.

ritualistic function of the carnival text. Neborak's direct allusions to the diabolical serve as reminders that the Devil is a force to be reckoned with.

Rock Music and Its Culture as Late Twentieth-Century Incarnations of Carnival

Neborak believes that carnival art always exists although it periodically dies and is reborn.⁸ Bu-Ba-Bu invoked the everlasting spirit of carnival in late twentieth-century Ukraine, and it manifested itself largely in the form of rock culture and music. Bu-Ba-Bu exploited this branch of world culture when it adapted its philosophy of carnival and performance to contemporary Ukraine. The “poet as rock star” repeatedly surfaces in Neborak’s poems and Andrukhovych’s prose. This example of Bu-Ba-Bu’s emphasis on performance helps to explain the group’s unique presence on Ukraine’s current cultural scene.

Several of Neborak’s poems are experiments in the form and rhythm of the Ukrainian language. His “Prychynna” (The Madwoman) is a loose parody of Taras Shevchenko’s well-known poem of the same name. In it Neborak breaks up words into syllables that produce a rock-beat rhythm:

ти йдеш одна між лілій
 сорочки но сиш білі
 малюєш очі де
 ревам
 ти королева де
 білів

коли заходиш у храми
 за ними валяться барми
 вони шкребуть пазу рами
 дебіли на ве сіллі

ти королева де
 білів
 температура плюс сорок
 не приведи мій Боже
 в її гаря че ложе

спадає в ду ші морок
 густе вино га ряче

8. Neborak, “Karnaval v ukrainskii literaturi,” 165.

а короле ва плаче
над рилом по ро сячим

ти королева де
білів
ти-ди-ка-ко ролева
танцюємо в по вітрі
Я МОЖУ ПО-ВТО-РИТИ
ти королева де
білів⁹

Similar experiments are found in his poems “Khto ide?” (Who’s Coming?), “Bubon” (Drum) and, as we shall see below, “Pisenka pro Laliu-Bo” (A Ditty ‘bout Lalia-Bo):

Ляля-Бо
зранку йде на робо
дмухає у трубу
і веде за собо
юр-бу-бу

бубу-юр-бубу
юрбу

бо труба в Лялі-Бо
українська¹⁰

The effects produced by these poems are similar to those produced by poems written by the Ukrainian Futurist writers Mykhail Semenko and Heo

9. you’re walkin’ alone through the lilies / wearing white blouses / you paint your eyes for the tre / es / you’re the queen of re / tards // when you enter temples / gates crumble behind them / with their claws they scrape / the retards at a wed ding // you’re the queen of re / tards / the temp’s 40 celsius / don’t guide me my Lord / to her hot chamber // darkness falls off in the soul / thick hot wine / but the queen’s cryin’ / over a pig’s snout // you’re the queen of re / tards / you-re-a-wi-ldqu e en / we’re dancin’ in the wind / I CAN RE-PE-AT / you’re the queen of re / tards (Viktor Neborak, “Prychynna,” in *Bu-Ba-Bu*, 147). The example consists of the whole poem. Translated by Michael M. Naydan.

10. Lyalya-Bo / in the morning goes to wor / puffs into her horn / leading behind er / a throngbulong // a buthrongbulongbu / throng // for Lyalya-Bo’s horn / is a Ukrainian one (Viktor Neborak, “Pisenka pro Laliu-Bo,” in *Bu-Ba-Bu*, 150, ll. 10–18). Translated by Michael M. Naydan.

Shkurupii. The difference lies, of course, in the fact that the Futurists' rhythmic inspiration did not come from rock music. Neborak taps into the life rhythms and youthful Eros captured by rock music and infuses his poems with them.

Neborak has admitted that he and Andrukhovych consciously borrowed elements of rock music and used them in their poems. This is not restricted to rhythm. The two writers directly addressed rock culture in their work. Neborak's book *Rozmova zi sluhoiu* (Conversation with a Servant) includes a cycle of four poems that revolve around a character he calls the "rock'n'-roll king." According to these poems, a rock star is a kind of god who can command the masses: his long hair signifies freedom, and his music has the power to transform the world and liberate its inhabitants.¹¹

It is not surprising that in his poetry of the late 1980s Neborak turned to the rock star. For Soviet youth, as for youth throughout the world, rock'n'roll represented rebellion and a celebration of emotional and physical freedom. But for them rock culture had the added meaning of a symbol of defiance because it was a product of the capitalist West, which the Soviet regime condemned. In independent literary journals, which appeared with the onset of Ukrainian independence, articles about Western rock bands were printed side by side with translations of Heidegger's essays.¹² Rock music was important for young, nationally conscious Ukrainian intellectuals. As Alexandra Hrycak pointed out, "in the early stages of high-risk activism, young nonconformist poets and rock stars were typical ideologues of Ukrainian nationalism."¹³ The various festivals that took place in Ukraine during this period featured rock bands and poets performing in front of crowds that applauded anything that differed from and rejected the Soviet past. Andrukhovych captured this period in his first novel, *Rekreatsii* (Recreations), which is a literary parody of the cultural awakening of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

11. Viktor Neborak, "Os ide rok-n-rolnyi korol," "Vystup rok-n-rolnoho korolia," "Prodovzhennia vystupu rok-n-rolnoho korolia. Bliuz," and "Zakinchennia vystupu rok-n-rolnoho korolia," all in *Rozmova zi sluhoiu* (Ivano-Frankivsk: Akademia Bu-Ba-Bu, 1993). No page numbers are found in this publication.

12. See, for example, *Chetver* (Ivano-Frankivsk), no. 4 (1993). It includes Iurii Prokhasko's translation of Heidegger's "Wozu Dichter?" and Iurko Kokh and Vitalii Lozovy's "Chomu sleidy krychut?" (Why Are the Slades Shouting?), an ode to the British rock band Slade.

13. Alexandra Hrycak, "The Coming of 'Chrysler Imperial': Ukrainian Youth and Rituals of Resistance," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 21, nos. 1–2 (1997): 81.

In the novel, four young Ukrainian poets converge on a small town in the Carpathian Mountains to take part in a festival. While Neborak lauds rock stars in his poems, Andrukhoverch presents poets who see themselves as rock stars. One of them, Khomsky, has this image of himself: "Just right, Khomsky, a long, loose grey coat, a week's stubble on the chin (Broadway style), hair gathered in a ponytail, sunglasses circa 1965, a hat, just right, the traveller, rock star, poet, and musician Khomsky, Khoma for short, this cool son of a bitch is bestowing upon provincial Chortopil the joy of a visitation in his very own person."¹⁴ The poets in the novel generally behave like rock stars, signing autographs for excited young girls and engaging in sex and heavy drinking. The heroes of Andrukhoverch's next two novels, *Moskoviada* (The Moscoviad) and *Perverziiia* (Perversion), are boozing and womanizing young poets.¹⁵ According to Andrukhoverch, the contemporary Ukrainian poet is no longer a humble servant of the people, but a narcissistic bohemian with the mass following of a rock star.

The 1990s: A Period of Literary Performances in Ukraine

The 1990s were a "period of festivals" in Ukraine. From the inception of Bu-Ba-Bu, its members performed throughout Ukraine and abroad at literary evenings and cultural festivals, reciting their own poetry or performing it with popular musicians. In this way they blurred the line distinguishing poets from rock stars, increased their popularity, and extended their influence to various branches of culture.

Literary Evenings and a Poetry Opera

Literary evenings in Kyiv organized by Les Taniuk and Ihor Rymaruk were forums at which Ukraine's latest generation of poets, known as the "eightiers," introduced themselves to the Ukrainian cultural community. In his long poem "Restavratsiia" (Restoration),¹⁶ Neborak reminiscences about

14. Yuri Andrukhoverch, *Recreations*, trans. Marko Pavlyshyn (Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1998), 20.

15. Interestingly enough, representatives of the Ukrainian cultural establishment and reading public in Ukraine and abroad reacted to Bu-Ba-Bu in a fashion reminiscent of the way parents in the West reacted to the rock music and culture that their children embraced in the 1950s and 1960s. They were appalled at what they saw as a predominance of obscenities and sex in Bu-Ba-Bu's writings and deemed this to be inappropriate for Ukrainian culture. Like the aging rockers of the 1960s, Bu-Ba-Bu is now criticized by erstwhile fans as being out of date and past its prime.

16. Viktor Neborak, "Restavratsiia: Iambichni memuary z elementamy Bu-Ba-Bu,

and, at the same time, parodies this period. Festivals such as Zolotyi Homin¹⁷ (Golden Echo) in 1990 introduced Bu-Ba-Bu to various Ukrainian communities abroad.

In 1992 Bu-Ba-Bu, along with the Lviv Student Brotherhood and the city's artistic community, organized the second Vyvykh festival in Lviv.¹⁸ For three days the city was run by its bohemians: everyone drank Vyvykh beer, ate Vyvykh chocolates, and competed in contests such as "The Coolest Hat," "Drawing on Asphalt," and "Painting on Cars." For three nights the poetry opera *Kraisler Imperial* (Chrysler Imperial) was staged at the Lviv Opera Theatre.

Directed by Serhii Proskurnia, *Kraisler Imperial* was based on Bu-Ba-Bu's poetry and prose. It was inspired by an actual automobile that Neborak claims to have seen in Kyiv, and it drew on the works of all three poets for its ideas. Its main characters were those of Andrukhoverych's *Rekreatsii*. It included live censure from the audience (actors read letters criticizing Bu-Ba-Bu that had appeared in newspapers), a "TV-man" who occasionally circled the stage with a television set (showing a popular Mexican soap-opera) strapped to his back, a recurring warning by a long-eared troll about the coming of the Chrysler Imperial, a children's and a professional choir singing songs set to Bu-Ba-Bu texts, ballet dancers, three rock bands, a full orchestra, and individual performances by each Bu-Ba-Bu member. Along with carnival laughter, Proskurnia presented the demonic side of ritual, which the Bubabists conjure up in their writings. Although the opera was somewhat disjointed and confusing, it and Vyvykh-'92 as a whole were probably the best and fullest realization of Bu-Ba-Bu's idea a carnival.

Bu-Ba-Bu Poems as Song Lyrics

Vyvykh-'90 marked the official launch of two Lviv rock bands that would collaborate with Bu-Ba-Bu in creating a hybrid performance genre known as sung poetry (*spivana poeziia*). For over ten years these bands, Plach Ieremii and Mertyvi Piven, set Bu-Ba-Bu verses to music and performed them before audiences that otherwise would not have come in contact with Bu-Ba-Bu poetry.¹⁹ Both bands took part in *Kraisler Imperial*, and

chastyna druha — epichna," in *Kraisler Imperial*, no. 6 (1996) of *Chetver*, 31–47.

17. The Bubabists criticized the lack of organization at this festival. See "Zolotohomoniada albo zh apolohiia Bu-Ba-Bu," in *Kraisler Imperial*, 89–103.

18. The word *Vyvykh* has several meanings in Ukrainian: sprain, dislocation, and avoidance of duty. The first Vyvykh festival was held in May of 1990 and the second in October of 1992. I will refer to them as Vyvykh-'90 and Vyvykh-'92, respectively.

19. Both bands also wrote songs based on their own texts and on the texts of other

Taras Chubai, Plach Ieremii's front man, wrote the opera's overture, which was inspired by Neborak's poem "Vona pidnimaietsia, iak holova" (She Rises like a Head), the final poem in the cycle "Henezys Litaichoi holovy: Virshovane shou" (The Genesis of the Flying Head: A Versified Show).

Although Plach Ieremii and Mertvyi Piven have been the two main performers of Bu-Ba-Bu verses, the first to set them to music and perform them was the bard Viktor Morozov, a veteran of both the folk and the rock stage and a major figure in Ukrainian popular music in the 1970s and 1980s. A member of one of Lviv's underground cultural community of the 1970s, which included the writers Oleh Lysheha, Mykola Riabchuk, Iurii Vynnychuk and Hryhorii Chubai, and the artist Orest Iavorsky, Morozov was an important link between the 1970s and 1980s. He was a member of the Ne Zhurys cabaret group, which promoted Ukrainian national consciousness throughout Ukraine just before the declaration of independence. Besides Neborak's and Andrukhovych's verses, Morozov's repertoire included songs to the poetry of such well-known Ukrainian poets as Pavlo Tychyna and Olena Teliha. He inspired the younger generation of musicians to develop the hybrid genre.

During their first ten years of existence, Plach Ieremii and Mertvyi Piven recorded over ten albums containing over fifty songs based on Bu-Ba-Bu poems. Many of these songs, such as "Klitka z panteroiu" (Cage with a Panther) and "Hryfon" (Gryphon) in Plach Ieremii's repertoire based, respectively, on Neborak's and Andrukhovych's verses, and "Potsilunok" (The Kiss), "Shabadabada," and "Favstove sviato" (Faust's Feast) in Mertvyi Piven's repertoire based, respectively, on Neborak's, Irvanets's, and Andrukhovych's poems, have become radio hits; and at concerts fans sing them in unison with the bands' vocalists. Both bands have performed Bu-Ba-Bu texts in North America and Western Europe, and their albums have sold well outside Ukraine. Other Lviv bands, such as Pamiatky arkhitektury, OKh, and the Neborak Rock Band, have performed alongside Plach Ieremii, Mertvyi Piven, and Morozov at many festivals in Ukraine at which Andrukhovych, Irvanets, and Neborak have read their works.

After Vyvykh-'92 Neborak joined forces with Oleksander Bohutsky, the manager of Plach Ieremii, to organize a series of cultural happenings in Lviv called "Reberetatsiia" (Reburial). Inspired partly by the reinterment of the

poets, including those of Propala Hramota and, in the case of Plach Ieremii, of the late Hryhorii Chubai (the father of the band's leader). However a major portion of their repertoire is based on texts by Neborak and Andrukhovych. Mertvyi Piven has two songs based on Irvanets's poems.

remains of Cardinal Iosyf Slipy, “Reberetatsiia” consisted of rock concerts and literary evenings in Lviv and included a two-day celebration of “Bu-Ba-Bu’s centenary” in May 1994.²⁰ On the first day all of the mentioned bands performed only songs that were based on Bu-Ba-Bu texts. The day ended with a three-hour rock concert sung to Bu-Ba-Bu poetry. On the second day Andrukhowych, Irvanets, and Neborak read their poems at the Lviv Drama Theatre to the accompaniment of keyboardist and one-time Ne Zhurys member Iurii Saienko.

The Bubabists as Rock Stars

Bu-Ba-Bu’s performances during Vyvykh-’92 inspired the poets to take one more step in fulfilling their rock-star image by performing on stage with the bands that used their verses.

For Neborak this took the form of the rock band Neborok. Inspired by his reading of his poem “Pisenka pro pana Bazia” (A Tune about Mr. Bazo) to the background music of the Neborak Rock Band (a Lviv group led by Neborak’s younger brother Sashko) in *Kraisler Imperial*, Neborak decided to front a rock band himself. The idea behind Neborok was that Neborak would read or sing his poems backed by a group composed of members of several Lviv bands that had worked with his poetry. Neborok only performed a few concerts, including one during the “Reberetatsiia” cycle. A studio album, *Strakhitlyvi urodyne* (The Frightful Birthday), featuring fifteen experimental compositions that forego melody in favour of accentuating the rhythmic elements of Neborak’s poetry, was recorded. The poems in this recording represent some of Neborak’s most notorious poetic characters, who come together in the album to celebrate their creator’s birthday. By manipulating Neborak’s voice in various ways, the recording technicians maintain a horror-show atmosphere to the very end, when the poet reads his poem “Monoloh pid zavisu” (A Monologue before the Curtain Call) sans background music. Neborock reached its peak in 1994 at the Alternatyva (Alternative) music festival in Lviv. Covered only with body paint, the group’s musicians provided a steady heavy backbeat as Neborak pranced around the stage waving a staff crowned by a sculpture of his (flying) head. This ritualistic performance and the macabre *Strakhitlyvi urodyne* can be viewed as explorations of the demonic side of the Bu-Ba-Bu carnival.

Andrukhowych too has performed his texts with musicians, but only as one-time events. During Bu-Ba-Bu’s centenary Plach Ieremii played its inter-

20. Neborak turned thirty-three on that day. At the time, the sum of the three Bu-Ba-Bu members’ ages was one hundred; hence the “centenary.”

pretation of his poem “Samiilo Nemyrych, avanturnyk, posadzhenyi za gvalt u vezhu, samomu sobi” (Samiilo Nemyrych, Troublemaker, Imprisoned in a Tower for Rape, to Himself) with Andrukhovych singing the vocals. Andrukhovych’s major foray into rock performance occurred with Mertvyi Piven in 1994. At the time the band was recording its third album, *Pidzemnyi zoo* (Underground Zoo), a highly conceptual work composed almost entirely around some of Andrukhovych’s poems that explore the circuslike existence of an underground society. It includes Andrukhovych’s reading of his long poem “Indiia” (India) over a George Russell instrumental jazz track, which introduces a Beat element into the album. Then, at a concert held at the Lviv Circus as part of Neborak’s “Reberetatsiia” cycle, Mertvyi Piven performed its new songs based on Andrukhovych’s texts and Andrukhovych, dressed in a coat made from a map, read “Indiia.” Later Andrukhovych and Mertvyi Piven performed together at the Bardentreffen Festival in Nuremberg.

Is Sung Poetry Faithful to Poetry?

There are several reasons why Neborak and Andrukhovych were involved in the above-mentioned projects. The carnival spirit they invoked in their writings resurfaced in the 1990s. As the performance of their poetic works expanded from readings to rock-group repertoires and centrepieces of festivals and “happenings,” an interweaving of art forms took place. At that point the two poets began wondering whether their poems were being properly interpreted and their original meaning was being preserved. Neborak expressed this concern by concluding the Neborok recording with an unaccompanied solo reading of his poem “Monoloh pid zavisu,” which contains the assertion “words exist on their own.”

It is true that in some examples of sung poetry the text becomes secondary to the music. In such instances the songs are primarily tunes inspired by Bu-Ba-Bu poems rather than interpretations of them. In some cases, however, the poems benefit from being performed as rock songs. A case in point is Plach Ieremii’s rendition of Neborak’s “Klitka z panteroiu,” a poem full of sexual metaphors. When the band’s guitarist/singer sang the line “the guitar in the hands of the playboy covets choice sounds” in front of a crowd of screaming teenage girls, the poem took on a theatrical aspect: it defined the roles being performed by both the musicians and the audience.

Both Andrukhovych and Neborak have stated that their texts do not always benefit from being performed as songs. Neborak addressed this problem directly in his section of the 1995 anthology titled *Bu-Ba-Bu*. There, in the section sarcastically titled “Shliagery” (Hits), which features several of his poems that have become the lyrics of popular rock songs, Neborak tried to reclaim his verses as poems.

The Bubabists realized, however, that without the help of musicians their performance ambitions would not have been realized on the scale that they were. The poets shaped this phenomenon by pinpointing the intersections of poetry and rock music and inserting their modern version of carnival at these points. In their essays, both Andrukhovych and Neborak have expressed gratitude to their musician colleagues. In “Pisnia pro pivnia” (A Song about a Rooster), which was written in honour of Mervyi Piven’s tenth anniversary, Andrukhovych stated that he sees the group’s members as his younger brothers and sister and praised them for rejecting the demands of the music industry and not committing artistic suicide. Reaffirming the group’s role in the “era of festivals,” he concluded by singling out the 1990s as “our decade.”²¹

Neborak’s unpublished essay “Komentar do zvuku” (A Commentary to Sound) praised Plach Ieremii for “instilling an important meaning into music and poetry while remaining a rock group.”²² In a longer essay, “Lvivskyi muzychno-poetychnyi syndrom” (The Lviv Musical-Poetic Syndrome), Neborak explored the infrastructure of show business and implored Lviv’s musicians not to sell out to corporate sponsorship.²³ The obvious reference to his past success as a producer of cultural festivals was a call to retain the purity of the carnival as a celebration for the benefit of the mass audience rather than a corporation or a politician. This was a premonition of the end of the carnival era in Ukraine. Turning to the relationship between rock music and poetry, Neborak proclaimed that the Word existed before Music. He concluded: “Rock’n’roll renews *rhythm*’s right to musicalize. Meanwhile poetry, in its search for audibility, *unearths* meanings. Their vectors intersect above Lviv.” Although Bu-Ba-Bu was at the centre of and one of the major driving forces of the 1990s cultural revival in Western Ukraine, it was but one component of it.

Bu-Ba-Bu as the Centre of a Cultural Phenomenon

Without the ideological backing, creative ideas, and literary talents of Bu-Ba-Bu’s three members, cultural life in the first decade of Ukrainian independence would not have maintained the carnivalized, festive quality that defined it. The Bubabists reverted to an old literary concept and applied it to the socio-cultural environment that existed in Western Ukraine and its

21. Iurii Andrukhovych, “Pisnia pro pivnia.” I retrieved this essay from the Mervyi Piven web site, at <www.city.lviv.ua/mervyjipiven>.

22. Viktor Neborak, “Komentar do zvuku.” Unpublished document.

23. Viktor Neborak, “Lvivskyi muzychno-poetychnyi syndrom,” in *Nova khvylia*, no. 3 (1997): 57–61.

“capital” Lviv during the years surrounding Ukraine’s achievement of independence. The timing and location could not have been better. Through their self-promoting and aggressive pursuit of the spotlight and their use of literary performance as a means of ritualizing mass action, Andrukhoverych, Neborak, and Irvanets managed not only to establish themselves as public figures in Ukrainian society, but also to unearth and animate at least two decades of underground Ukrainian culture in various creative fields.

The members of the 1970s Lviv underground were very influential in providing the Bubabists with an example of creating without compromise in the face of government censorship and harassment. They acted as mentors for these young men during the 1980s by providing access to prohibited artifacts of cultural achievements outside the Soviet bloc. When the Soviet Union began crumbling, the young writers of Bu-Ba-Bu were in a position to make a powerful statement in the sphere of Ukrainian literature and popular culture. Many of their successes could not have been possible without the support of the writers, artists, musicians, and organizers who, in prior years, had built up the creative energy that drove Bu-Ba-Bu’s ideas to fruition and fed the carnival its members conjured up.

Bu-Ba-Bu’s colleagues in Lviv’s creative scene were a tightly knit group of individuals who often collaborated on creative projects. Lviv’s visual artists Iurii Kokh, Volodymyr Kaufman, and Volodymyr Kostyrko were instrumental in designing various Bu-Ba-Bu publications (Kokh’s design of *Litaiucha holova* is a fine example of a visual “performance” of a poetic text) and providing visual continuity for Bu-Ba-Bu’s literary performances. The visual art-music-literature triangle is completed by the same artists’ design of most of the album covers for the aforementioned Lviv musicians Viktor Morozov, Plach Ieremii, and Mertyyi Piven. Together these men and women formed the structure of what was Bu-Ba-Bu’s primary launching pad of ideas. The members of this Lviv cultural scene are cross-referenced in paintings, texts, and thank-you lists. The scene as a whole has been the subject not only of Bu-Ba-Bu’s nostalgic publications, such as *Kraisler Imperial* (designed by Kokh and Olia Pohribna-Kokh) and Neborak’s book of interviews, reviews, portraits, and essays *Povernennia v Leopolis* (The Return to Leopolis, 1998, designed by Kostyrko), but also of Iu. Tszy’s essay “Drabyna v nebo” (Stairway to Heaven).²⁴

24. Iu. Tszy [pseud. of Iurko Kokh], “Drabyna v nebo,” *Suchasnist*, 1994, no. 6: 142–57. The fact that the title is a reference to a Led Zeppelin song is another example of the importance of rock culture in Ukraine at that time.

In a sense Bu-Ba-Bu was a manifestation of the talents and energies of a whole group of similar-minded creative individuals who found themselves in a position to create freely in an independent Ukraine. The results of their efforts were cultural events and projects that realized the seemingly impossible creative ambitions of Andrukhovych, Irvanets, and Neborak. Supported by a wide circle of fellow writers and artists, Bu-Ba-Bu was able to transform the written word into a carnivalesque performance celebrating the dawn of creative freedom in Ukraine.

Conclusion

The cultural and political critic Mykola Riabchuk acknowledged that, thanks to their commitment to performance, the Bubabists were responsible for the popularization of contemporary Ukrainian literature more than anyone else. According to Riabchuk, the Bubabists accomplished this by “transforming evenings of poetry into theatrical shows with effective personal recitations, good direction, and the appropriate inclusion of popular rock groups.”²⁵ The Ukrainian writer Viacheslav Medvid, a frequent opponent of the Bubabists on literary issues, also admitted that “what I was able to accomplish through sweat and blood the Bubabists carried out easily and even joyfully. I love them for that.”²⁶ The Bu-Ba-Bu phenomenon I have described was but one facet of Ukrainian culture in the 1990s. However localized its sphere of influence may have been, it was an important component of post-Soviet Ukrainian culture. The exultant “era of festivals” in Ukraine is over, and today it is impossible to recreate its organizational and creative success. And yet the Bubabists have continued to pursue the idea of literary performance, albeit in more modest and sober ways. From time to time they have still performed as a trio: in April 1998 they commemorated the second centenary of pirated publication in Ukraine (the unofficial publication of Ivan Kotliarevsky’s *Eneida* in St. Petersburg). In 2000 Andrukhovych celebrated his fortieth birthday in Lviv’s Lialka café by providing samples of the cuisine detailed in *Perverziia*’s banquet scenes. Since December 1995 Neborak has organized and hosted a series of monthly literary evenings titled *Tretie tysiacholittia* (The Third Millennium), at which Ukrainian writers read their texts. Thus the Bubabists have continued providing literature with opportunities to spring from the printed page and have continued giving an impetus to public cultural celebration.

25. Mykola Riabchuk, “Shyroka populiarnist u vuzkomu koli,” *Polityka i kultura* (Kyiv), 1999, no. 12: 40–1.

26. Viacheslav Medvid, “Ego sum rex Romanus et supra grammaticos,” *Svito-Vyd*, 1999, no. 1: 120–36.

Erotic Assemblages: Field Research, Palimpsests, and What Lies Beneath

Maryna Romanets

The recent proliferation of discourses concerned with sexuality in post-totalitarian Ukraine is indicative partly of a literary vogue for “erotomaniac” fiction that has captivated Western *fin-de-siècle* culture in the process of recurrent contestation, rearticulation, and redefinition of gender norms, roles, and boundaries. This erotic polyvalence in Ukrainian textual production is also partly geared toward the dissolving of cultural stereotypes and revealing the fictionality of existing codes of morality, for eroticism is a force capable, to a considerable degree, of undermining certain hierarchical formations inherited by the Ukrainian cultural space from the previous authoritarian regime. The new discursive practices can be regarded as counter-reactions both to the systematized social repression of the body in the sterilized Soviet society, in which the domains of “pleasure” were prescribed and thoroughly sanitized by the state, and to the ideological “kenosis” persistently promoted by socialist-realist literature. By way of example, a depressingly monotonous stream of “positive” characters in the Soviet literary canon whose libido was channelled exclusively into the construction of communism has profoundly eroded any comfortable sense of the body in the sphere of representations that constitute social identity. Furthermore, as Homi K. Bhabha points out, while it is theorized in post-colonial terms, “the body is always simultaneously inscribed in both the economy of pleasure and desire and the economy of discourse, domination and power.”¹ The discovery and investigation of the formerly untrodden ambivalent terrains of desiring bodies are being

1. Homi K. Bhabha, “The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism,” in *Literature, Politics, and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference, 1976–84*, ed. Francis Barker et al. (New York: Methuen, 1986), 150.

represented in a wide range of contemporary literary practices that are breaking political, social, and cultural injunctions to silence on the issues of sexuality. Through a comparative cross-gender analysis of Oksana Zabuzhko's short novel *Polovi doslidzhennia z ukrainskoho seksu* (Field Research in Ukrainian Sex, 1996), Iurii Izdryk's short novel *Votstsek* (Wozzeck, 1997), and Iurii Pokalchuk's prose collection *Te, shcho na spodi* (What Lies Beneath, 1998), I shall examine the ways in which these texts work against cultural fixities.

The controversial reception of Zabuzhko's novel, generated by the insulted virtue of (post)-Soviet neo-puritans, can be described as a miniature copy of the notoriety once surrounding D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. However, the intellectual immaturity of her attackers and the absence of laws and regulations on the basis of which the author could have been charged with pornography and obscenity saved her work from being removed from bookstore and library shelves. *Polovi doslidzhennia* is the first explicitly erotic work in Ukrainian literature written by a woman. Zabuzhko's search for the power of self-articulation by positioning herself as an autonomous subject of erotic desire is presented through a fictionalized account of a real-life affair that blurs the line between the genres of novel and life-writing by its sophisticated manipulation of reality into fiction. At the same time it is a discourse on what Freud calls "common unhappiness," the experience that informs women's writings and lives at large. In one of her interviews Zabuzhko speaks about the complete identification of her Ukrainian women readers aged twenty-five to sixty with her heroine and concludes: "it suddenly appears that you somewhat mystically apply sound not to your own words but to those of many thousands of specific living beings who suffered and largely remained silent, as if they did not exist at all: all that is not expressed in words very quickly sinks into oblivion. By giving voice to something, you allow it to exist."² Thus her character's personal psychodrama represents the wider societal scheme of repressive control imposed through discipline and punishment.

By representing pain in her erotic explorations, Zabuzhko seemingly accepts the century-old view that masochism is natural to women. This nineteenth-century myth, theoretically substantiated by Freud's concept of "feminine masochism" and developed by a number of his successors into the straightforward assertion of women's biological predisposition to masochistic

2. Oksana Zabuzhko, "Where There Are No Knights, a Robber Baron Will Turn Up," at www.day.kiev.ua/DIGEST/1999/28/culture/cul-1.htm.

behaviour,³ has been instrumental in homogenizing women into a category and assigning them invariant social functions. By rationalizing and “medicalizing” the prevailing sexual division of social roles and the supporting myths of women’s passivity in social and sexual relations, the psychiatric profession has been promoting the existing models of sexuality, gender, and power. In this framework masochism has become a central ideological construct in the production of a feminine stereotype that provides a zone where conflicting male fantasies and phobias are evicted, and it turns thereby into a site of pleasure and anxiety.

On the one hand, Zabuzhko’s protagonist seems to re-enact obsessively the masochism in which Soviet society has been schooled so well by the authoritarian state. The system oriented toward absolute control over the bodies of its subjects, which was established through the political technologies of victimization, successfully inculcated a deeply rooted and widespread attitude of submissiveness toward authority and a tendency toward self-defeating and self-destructive behaviour. Paradoxically, under the Soviet regime the whole country had engaged in masochistic activities for decades, as if it had signed an implicit social contract based on the Deleuzian definition of masochism, according to which the rights of one party and the obligations of the other are neither disputed nor subject to revisions.⁴ In the sphere of gender, a reverent attitude to authority involved a certain type of male chauvinism. The trampled and crippled male ego tried to compensate for its impotency in relation to the prevailing power structures by victimizing, denigrating, and subjugating women. From this particular point of view, *Polovi doslidzhennia z ukrainskoho seksu* reveals the mechanisms by which cultural models of domination and subordination are shaped and projected onto the relationships between the sexes in their most deeply ingrained form—heterosexual gender roles. The novel also presents a pattern both of the sexually codified violence that many women suffer and of the victimization they seem to accept. Zabuzhko’s text is instrumental in understanding “how domination is anchored in the hearts of the dominated,” to use Jessica Benjamin’s expression,⁵ and why being a woman—especially in Ukraine, as Zabuzhko’s character emphasizes—automatically fixes positional roles. By

3. See John K. Noyes, *The Mastery of Submission: Inventions of Masochism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), 16–17.

4. See Gilles Deleuze, “Coldness and Cruelty,” in his *Masochism*, trans. Jean McNeil (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 91–3.

5. *The Bonds of Love: Psychoanalysis, Feminism, and the Problem of Domination* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 5.

delineating them along the gender axis, male-supremacist culture automatically grants men exclusive rights to define and control and consigns a women to submission and acquiescence to brutality: “this fucking *dependency* deposited in the body like a delayed-action bomb ... this unindependence ... this need to melt into a damp, splattering clay pounded into the surface of the earth.”⁶ The author sees the roots of women’s subjugation not only in her society’s misogyny but also in men’s subservience under colonial and totalitarian rule, which emasculates them and thus subsumes the colonized into already existing gender relations. Under these conditions the authoritarian oppressive practices are re-directed against women exactly mimicking the colonial scenario of mastery and submission. The protagonist explains her acquiescence in her lover’s violence and her acceptance of their abusive relationship by the context of socio-cultural experiences shared by that particular stratum of women who identify themselves with Ukrainian subalternity, not with the ideologically concocted and zealously promoted “Soviet people” into which all constitutive nations of the USSR were methodically homogenized:

we were brought up by guys who were fucked in every way from all sides ... later we were screwed by the same kind of guys, and ... in both cases they did to us the same thing that was done to them by the others, the *foreign* guys[.] And ... we accepted them and loved them as they are, for not accepting them would mean taking the side of the others, the foreign ones[.]... [T]hus the only choice we had and still have is between the victim and the torturer: between non-being and being-that-kills[.]⁷

On the other hand, Zabuzhko’s protagonist does not invariably occupy one and the same position in the pain-seeking scenario. She shifts subject-object relations, thus destabilizing them, and moves freely along the “submission-mastery” axis. She alternates between a laughing witch-dominatrix and a sexual slave at the other end of the “whip.” The protagonist’s body is bruised and scarred by the male’s desire for power. Yet she remains a strong

6. “Із цією блядською залежністю, закладеною в тіло, як бомба сповільненої дії, з несамостійністю цією, з потребою перетоплюватись на вогку, хляпаву глину, втвочену в поверхню землі ...” (Oksana Zabuzhko, *Polovi doslidzhennia z ukrainskoho seksu* [Kyiv: Zhoda, 1996], 18).

7. “[H]ас ростили мужики, обйобані як-тільки-можна з усіх кінців ... потім такі самі мужики нас трахали, і ... в обох випадках вони робили з нами те, що інші, чужі мужики робили з ними? І ... ми приймали й любили їх такими, як вони є, бо не прийняти їх — означало б стати по стороні тих, чужих?... [Є]диний наш вибір, отже, був і залишається — межі жертвою і катом: між небуттям і буттям-яке-вбиває?” (ibid., 140).

woman and is seen by her partner as a violator of his male sovereignty, because her behaviour does not comply with his ideas of masculine and feminine roles. This perception results in what sexologists call psychogenic impotence. He experiences a metaphorical form of castration, for a non-functioning penis is equated with its absence. According to the psychoanalytical canon, his identity is defined by the phallic and heterosexual economy of lack both on the psychological and physical performative level. Simultaneously, he suffers the castration trauma that is characteristic of the dispersed and dislocated subjectivities of the colonized.

The protagonist's erotic vibes are perceived by her artist-lover as threatening and destructive because his maleness cannot take them in. For him the source of her intimidating female essence are her genitalia; hence he attempts to maintain his domination by repeated frenzied assaults on her vagina during their quasi-gynecological erotic games. He sees the vagina as a devouring vortex and a locus of fecundity that exists and functions separately from the rest of the body, as well as a contending counterpart to his reproductive organ and thus subject to castration. However, the psychological shape-shifting of Zabuzhko's heroine and her transformation from an enduring object of offensive desires into a laughing witch that results in the reversal of power dynamic aligns her with traditional castrating females. They terrorize men by their *vagina dentata*, a core area of practical witchcraft that, according to the definition in the notorious *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486), deprives "man of his virile member,"⁸ the "loftiest" of male possessions, which under the homosocial order has become a symbol of power, an instrument of appropriation, and a weapon. By portraying the protagonist, who acts out her desires through swings between aggression and passivity, pain and pleasure, and domination and submission, the author desexualizes men and resexualizes women.

Zabuzhko's representation of female erotic subjectivity invades the discursive territory previously presided by neutered, sexless males under the Soviet hygienic moral code. Her articulation of sexuality deterritorializes desire by questioning the imperatives and postulates of social structures that support and encourage negative attitudes to any form of sexual self-expression in every possible way. Her protagonist of the novel is both victim and victimizer. This is typical of moral masochism, which is often concomitant with the yearning to construct a different cultural order. Such a drive for change, which acknowledges intensities and contradictions of desire, sets

8. Charles Alva Hoyt, *Witchcraft*, 2d ed. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989), 50–1.

Zabuzhko's text against repressive constructions of human subjects and of their gender and social relations.

The novel's minimalist plot provides a strategically limited space for her narrative of desire in which desire is obstructed, drained, and left unfulfilled. The bond that links desire to pain and numbness is made explicit by the author. In the aftermath of her love affair, the protagonist is left in a trancelike indifference, as if pain and fixation always end in the emptying out of self. Her hollowed body turns into a human canvas for a brutal, power-obsessed artist: "calves ornamented like a map, with an archipelago of multi-hued, reddish and brownish, scaly and shelled blots—scars, cuts, burns—a visually presented history of the nine-month-long (yes, nine-month-long!!!) mad love that turned into sheer madness."⁹ A sadistic draftsman, he produces his graph of dominance-seeking masculinity in which violence becomes the other face of power.

Similarly to Zabuzhko's cathartic passage through pain, in Izdryk's *Vots-tsek* the pained body becomes a conduit through which Wozzeck's identity vacillates: now felt, now numb, now self, now other, now dispersed, now centred. The novel transposes and transforms Georg Büchner's drama *Woyzeck* (written 1836, published 1879) and the libretto of Alban Berg's opera *Wozzeck* (1925), which was based on it. Both of these works depicted the tragic disintegration of a poor soldier driven mad by regimental sadism, medical experimentation, and his mistress's infidelity. Izdryk's appropriation is not confined to the surface structure of the precursor text: he plumbs its deeper levels. As Deleuze and Guattari write, Büchner has his own way of travelling and moving: "proceeding from the middle, through the middle, coming and going rather than starting and finishing."¹⁰ He never tries to start from ground zero, to seek a beginning or foundation in accordance with a conception that is methodical, pedagogical, initiatory, and symbolic. Deleuze and Guattari emphasize that "[b]etween things does not designate a localized relation going from one thing to the other and back again, but a perpendicular direction, a transversal movement that sweeps one and the

9. "[Л]итки розцяцьковано, як мапу, архіпелагом різночотних, червонястих і брунатних, лускатих і злущених плям — шрами, порізи, опіки, навіч представлена історія дев'ятимісячної (атож, дев'ятимісячної!!!) mad love, із якої вийшла — правдива madness" (Zabuzhko, *Polovi doslidzhennia*, 14).

10. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 25.

other away, a stream without beginning or end that undermines its banks and picks up speed in the middle.”¹¹

Izdryk also subjects his novel to various erosions, conflicting trajectories, flows, and motions, as metaphorically described in the chapter titled “Velyka voda” (The Great Water). His text becomes exposed to a violent current that sweeps away everything on its way, “instantaneously changing the landscape, creating ravines and precipices on its somnambulistic and shifting banks.”¹² His narrative vectors stretch in multiple directions, creating an intricate rhizome in which the author manoeuvres by moving between things, establishing a logic of the “and,” neglecting the foundations, and alleviating endings and beginnings.

The same fluidity can be seen in both Büchner’s and Izdryk’s representation of desire. Both seem to respond to the question posed in *Anti-Oedipus*, “Who does not feel in the flows of his desire both the lava and the water?”¹³ which refers to every person in whom the flow of desire is not impeded. Izdryk’s narrative is centred on Wozzeck’s nostalgic memories of the summer spent with his beloved. His reflections develop into a carefully selected sensual herbarium that has absorbed all the summer’s solar energy and erotic heat. Wozzeck and A. chart a map (so different from Zabuzhko’s painful map-making experiences) that meticulously delineates the routes of their desire with flowers and berries accompanied by aromas of the fields and gardens. With their suggestive erotic connotations, fruits and flowers become part of the lovers’ fifty-two-day- and fifty-one-night-long hedonistic love rites and also embody the transitoriness of their infatuation.

An essential feature of the representation of desire in *Votstsek*, as opposed to the deeply entrenched tendency in patriarchal society to essentialize woman and her body, is the desire, as Marko Pavlyshyn observes, “to turn the Other into oneself.”¹⁴ In the phallogocentric canon, the female body turns into the body of the other, a point of reference and rationale through which male identity (be it sexual, cultural, or national) is defined, as if to emphasize paradoxically the residual or secondary nature of masculinity that needs a well-developed intellectual, institutional, and

11. *Ibid.*, 25.

12. “[М]иттєво змінюючи ландшафт, утворюючи кручи та урвища на своїх сомнабулічних і рухливих берегах” (Izdryk, *Votstsek* [Lviv: Lileia-NV, 1997], 39).

13. Quoted by Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1, *Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, trans. Steven Conway in collaboration with Erica Carter and Chris Turner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 249.

14. “‘Votstsek’” Izdryka,” *Suchasnist*, 1998, no. 9: 110.

political apparatus to legitimize itself and thrive. Izdryk's myth of desire is grounded in Oneness, which does not presuppose subject-object division but becomes the quest for the Whole in his longing to merge with A. completely. He wants to experience the undifferentiated Oneness of a man and a woman, which his identity, split into separate particles and layers, so desperately lacks. But his yearning for the erasure of the boundaries between the self and the other fails because his all-consuming feeling and vertiginous passion, which is far more than a sexual drive in pursuit of immediate gratification of desire in the banality of orgasm, become obtrusive and burdensome for A.

Wozzeck's romantically fleshless love for A. is framed into a vision of the fragmented consciousness. In his attempt to give form to the formless and invisible—to dreams, reveries, desires, and fears—the author brings various experiential layers together: they collapse into each other in the vortex of reality and mind, dream and reality, reality and fiction, past and present. Wozzeck's hypnologic experiences and parapraxes are no less real than the external, “objective” world. They extend their hold both beyond and within the diffused borders of dreams and draw into their circuit different participants, their emanations, doubles, personality-shifters, bodies, memories, and voices, either in an eruption of hypnagogic images or in the delusional readings of the world in paranoia. Here belongs Miriam, an illusory, multi-faceted transmogrifier in Wozzeck's world of ceaseless metamorphoses. She is either one woman with multiple personalities, or several women who merge into one body: Miriam-why-I-do-not-come-with-my-husband, Miriam-blessed-virgin-of-salty-vertebra, Miriam-golden-throat. As opposed to A., who is associated with the sublime sphere and provokes mad passion, Miriam, a surrealistic bundle of flesh from the domains of physiology, does not arouse his desire. He “takes” her wearily, and she avenges him with a tempestuous orgasm accompanied by “an abundance of pungent miasmas that emanate from her together with convulsions.”¹⁵ Now she is a young witch with a pointed nose, and now her body becomes enormously exaggerated in scale; its amorphous mass fills Wozzeck's room completely and becomes an image of infinite flexibility. While Miriam easily crosses the border between his “reality” and his hallucinatory state, with its chimerical assemblages of things that are normally separate, A., always exquisitely beautiful, stays ostensibly fixed in the zone of his “sanity,” an adorable model of perfection and provocateur of his madness who appears and drifts away effortlessly like a mirage.

15. “[Р]яснотою ядучих міазмів, що виходять із неї разом із конвульсіями” (Izdryk, *Votstek*, 28).

Wozzeck's perceptions occur as if through a veil. It is hard to distinguish what he sees, imagines, and hallucinates. The subject finds himself in a state of dissolution. In his predominantly hallucinatory perceptions everybody and everything loses its boundaries and fuses into one. The protagonist sinks into a trancelike condition. Wozzeck closely studies the events and pulsations of innumerable shifts in his persistently returning nightmares and apparitions and tries to tie together the fragments of his nocturnal consciousness into an incomprehensible textual puzzle. He tries to draw an ungraspable demarcation line between day and night, but the endless waves of pain and insanity that paralyze feelings and reduce everything to numbness make this impossible. All is confusion in Wozzeck's hopelessly atomized world, a world devoid of dichotomies and boundaries, in which he painfully tries to give substance to phantoms. Izdryk's novel is a phantasmagoric tapestry of desire, pain, passion, and sleepless dreams, a multi-layered fabric synthesized by a postmodern sensibility out of quotations, nostalgia, and undifferentiatedness. The novel's postmodern stance makes it marginal, infringed, final, and, at the same time, open.

Pokalchuk's psychosexual adventures are played out on the opposite end of the spectrum from Zabuzhko's liberated sexuality and Izdryk's spectralized selves. The strategies these authors employ in rethinking and rewriting the body could not be more dissimilar, for the subject matter of *Te, shcho na spodi* seems to conform to current operational definitions of pornography. Pokalchuk's representation of women as voracious, ravenous, and incessantly craving for sex reduces the female body to unformed flesh. His collection of stories includes most of the hottest classic pornographic scenarios: depictions of women being penetrated from every imaginable angle, in every possible orifice, and in every conceivable posture. He conflates rape with seduction, vaginal with anal eroticism, and so on. Pokalchuk's pseudo-erotica falls exactly under Gilles Deleuze's definition of pornographic literature: "What is known as pornographic literature is a literature reduced to a few imperatives (do this, do that) followed by obscene descriptions."¹⁶

Pokalchuk's collection, probably intended to celebrate liberation from the multiple oppressions under the Soviet regime, descends instead into an endless stream of worn-out myths and traditional misogynies. The only feature that distinguishes this work from many other masculinist discourses is that the author explicitly draws the equation between "woman" and "sex" and fixes its invariant meaning. Pursuing a frankly pornographic orientation, in which every implication is declared and every suggestion is proclaimed, he

16. "Coldness and Cruelty," 17.

writes his *Bildungsroman* of sexuality that apparently requires convincing proofs of capacity through identification with phallic mastery. Thus writing turns into a surrogate phallic affirmation, if not into the phallus *par excellence*, acting as a remedial instrument to reduce man's sexual anxieties and fears. As Jane M. Ussher argues, in heterosexual pornography, where "man" is always an active controlling agent and "woman" is assigned the role of a voluntarily responsive object, she turns into a hole that is to be penetrated. Through mechanisms of symbolic representation and the mechanical objectification of signs, woman is stripped of power and dismissed: "She is fetishized in the most obvious manner—split into part objects (breasts, vagina, mouth) rather than whole object—and the fears she provokes in man (of castration, of not being big enough, of not being 'man') are contained."¹⁷

Throughout history and across different cultural traditions, writers, artists, poets, and philosophers seem to have been looking for a solution to the "riddle of femininity." Pokalchuk has joined the club, but in his prose the secret is demystified, revealed, unveiled, thoroughly normalized, and thus brought under control. The author conceptualizes the once mysterious "woman" in a concise formula that does not leave any unknowns in feminine nature: according to him, the ultimate desire of every woman is to be fucked. His representational strategy denies his female protagonists any complexities by exposing their exclusively physical *jouissance*. By reducing all human relationships, he creates an emotional vacuum: his sexual encounters, without commitment, affection, understanding, or passion, are geared entirely toward performance. Typologically the stories represent desire in the absence of desire. In them sexuality as a ritual with a highly elaborate code is dismissed for the benefit of the male erection. There comes a point at which repeated descriptions of mechanical copulation seem to be aimed at acting out the author's fantasies of sexual domination and some profoundly suppressed adolescent erotic dreams, or at proving his phallic potency and power, and his sexual scene becomes more real than the real itself. In pornography the absorption of reality into hyperreality, according to Jean Baudrillard, results in the eruption of the obscene, which signifies the end of illusion and imagination: "One gives you so much ... that you have nothing to add, that is to say, nothing to give in exchange. Absolute repression: by giving you *a little too much* one takes away everything."¹⁸ *Te, shcho na spodi* is structured on

17. *Fantasies of Femininity: Reframing the Boundaries of Sex* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 158.

18. *Seduction*, trans. Brian Singer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 30.

simulacra of sexuality and obsessional simulation in which there is no place for weakness, failure, or inadequate performance. Though some of Pokalchuk's male protagonists are teenagers, inexperienced virgins at the point of departure on their sexual explorations, they perfectly comply with prevailing porn-scripts of erectile and verticality by exhibiting undiminishing hardness for hours and by being able to resume vigorous penetrative sex immediately after ejaculating an impressive number of times. Women are presented as responding inviolably ecstatically and orgasmically to multiple penetration (often to a gangbang), as if challenging normal rules of physiology. The apotheosis of Pokalchuk's resourcefulness is evident in the following description of what could be loosely termed as lovemaking, fetishist, compulsive, and deeply pointless. Here the mechanical assemblage of woman's sexual insatiability and her adolescent partners' utilization of varied sexual practices (vaginal, anal, and oral concomitantly) borders on the grotesque:

[S]he was lying on ... [Slavko] with his penis in her anus.... Kostyk lifted her legs up onto his shoulders and carefully entered her vagina, and now she groaned loudly because of new, unexpected, and previously not experienced sensations; both penises were moving synchronically inside her, even more—now she was moving between both penises, feeling gigantic pleasure from both of them inside her ... and when she felt [Ievhen's] penis on her lips and then in her mouth and then on her tongue, already thirsty, strong, desiring ... they all wanted to explode and moved now like a single wonderful human mechanism, like a machine that had not been invented yet by humankind and which could give an individual the fullest pleasure.¹⁹

It must be pointed out that almost all of Pokalchuk's descriptions are focussed on women, moreover, on women in their thirties who initiate sexual intercourse with teenage boys. This is the rite of passage into manhood that defines masculine sexual identity for the author. Ultimately this definition undermines his assertion of male sexual mastery by clearly exposing its infantile basis.

19. “[В]она лежала на [Славкові] із стрижнем у задньому проході ... Костик задер її ноги на свої плечі і обережно увійшов у її піхву, і тепер вона застогнала уже голосно від нових неочікуваних і незнаних досі відчуттів; обидва стрижні у ній рухались синхронно, навіть більше — зараз рухалась вона між обома стрижнями, тепер вчуваючи велетенську насолоду від обох зразу в собі ... і коли вона відчула [вгенів] стрижень у себе на вустах, а потім у роті, а потім на язиці, вже спраглий, сильний, бажаючий ... вони вже всі хотіли вибухнути і рухались зараз, як єдиний дивний людський механізм, як машина, якої ще не довинайшло людство і яка могла б давати особистості найповніше задоволення” (Iurii Pokalchuk, *Te, shcho na spodi* [Lviv: Kalvaria, 1998], 242).

Pokalchuk's collection is lavishly adorned with visual erotica, starting with works by Michelangelo and Caravaggio whose representation of homoerotic desire seems to illustrate the only story that deals with gay subject matter. Interestingly enough, in this particular piece, titled suggestively "Holube sontse" (The Azure Sun) (*holubyi* in Ukrainian means 'gay'), in contrast to those that depict heterosexual relations, the author switches to understatement and avoids frank descriptions of sex. Pokalchuk's gallery of visual enticement stretches chronologically to include Eric Fischl's *Bad Boy* (1981), a painting of an adolescent boy voyeuristically viewing a woman's (his mother's) genitalia and naked body from up close, which has been said to have made the artist's career. This reproduction is allocated to a story in which Pokalchuk ambitiously rewrites Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*. But while in Fischl's painting the perversion is implied in the voyeuristic and fetishistic transaction, Pokalchuk depicts the incestuous relationship in lurid and superfluous detail to satisfy the more exotic tastes of a fantasy-ridden, sub-potent public. "Edyp narodysvia v Drohobychi" (Oedipus Was Born in Drohobych, almost reminiscent of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's *Don Juan of Kolomyia*) does not read like an attempt at liberating from either sexual repressions or the prescriptive shackles of psychoanalytical Oedipal matrix, but rather like still another sordid duplication of the same pattern of sexual behaviour in a different pornographic scenario.

In Ukraine, which Zabuzhko considers to be a country of many "posts"—"post-colonial, post-Communist, post-totalitarian"²⁰—and in which some of these "posts" have already turned into "neos," the sediment of oppressive structures includes social inhibition of the body that was neutralized codified in the iconographic terms of a desexed socialist realism. In her "field research in Ukrainian sex," Zabuzhko mapped this zero territory to create her inscape of sexuality. Through her protagonist, who experiences erotic and spiritual catharsis, the writer engages in the project of cognitive liberation from the petrifying grip of received tradition. Unlike Zabuzhko's corporeal inscape, mapped by the immediacy of her erotic becomings, Izdryk's *Votstsek* is a highly structured textual palimpsest with a rich texture of conceptual and verbal allusions in which desire is contained and controlled by the aesthetic. Pokalchuk's challenge to culturally enforced regimes of gender and sexuality does not extend beyond the production of a national pornography; as such, the book does its work, for at some moments it stirs, titillates, and gives rise to frissons of sexual pleasure.

20. Oksana Zabuzhko, "Enters Fortinbras," in her *Kingdom of Fallen Statues: Poems and Essays* (Toronto: Wellspring, 1996), 90.

Although he has chosen the medium that advocates free and diverse sexual expressiveness most vociferously, Pokalchuk's rhetorical poverty, tedious and repetitive plot patterns, and oversimplified psychological motivations make *Te, shcho na spodi* no more than an adolescent fantasy of sexuality and sexual liberation.

The Female Voice in the Poetry of Oksana Zabuzhko and Natalka Bilotserkivets: Reinforcing or Resisting Existing Configurations?

Halyna Koscharsky

Not all poets consciously seek to resist and change the existing social and ideological configuration; some simply reflect their experiences and their surroundings. Those who do seek to bring about such a change will adopt “alternative voices, rhetorics and idioms which consciously depart from those stylistic forms and discursive strategies”¹ that reinforce the existing norms. Such an alternative voice is invariably heard in the poetry of Oksana Zabuzhko and marks each text of *A Kingdom of Fallen Statues*, a collection of English translations of some of her best poetry.

Hers is an unsentimental female voice whose tone is often sarcastic (“drink calmly, Gertrude”²) and sometimes even sardonic, without illusion and pity, and whose metaphors are bold and unexpected (Ophelia addressing Hamlet’s mother, Gertrude, “regina-vagina”³). Before the 1990s not even male writers treated their subjects with such immediate and brutal honesty. This, in itself, shows that Zabuzhko wants to change the social and ideological configuration, to be the equal of the contemporary masculine writer. She is the voice of the intellectual poet who begins by exploring each ideological pathway until she has answered every question and the answers ring true to

1. Richard Murphy, *Theorizing the Avant-Garde: Modernism, Expressionism, and the Problem of Postmodernity* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 99.

2. Oksana Zabuzhko, *A Kingdom of Fallen Statues* (Toronto: Wellspring, 1996), 12.

3. *Ibid.*

her ear. Although her themes are based, directly or indirectly, on her own experiences, she herself appears only in fragments in her texts. She does not pass moral judgment on her characters' actions.⁴

The reader soon becomes aware of Zabuzhko's distinctly gendered alternative voice and senses her need to articulate the female position—the differences, the aspects of a woman's physical, emotional, and psychological life that the male reader rarely knows about.⁵ Since there is no longer a need for her to write from a sense of political responsibility,⁶ the writer's new task is to alert society, especially women, to the realities of feminist politics. It is worth noting that Zabuzhko regards Ukrainian culture in general to be post-colonial, yet "*inside itself, in its gender structure, it remains colonial.*"⁷

With this new responsibility in mind, in some texts Zabuzhko totally strips the female character and the situation of traditional romantic elements. Typical of this alternative approach is her satirical portrait of Cinderella at home after the ball, unaware that the prince's men will search the country for the owner of the glass slipper. Zabuzhko reacts against the sentimentality normally associated with this subject. By confronting images of Cinderella carrying out daily chores for her stepsisters, such as "steeping their syphilitic sheets in lye,"⁸ she contributes to an alternative idiom, one that departs from the existing discourse style. Addressing Cinderella directly throughout, the writer describes the misery of her existence and tells her directly and unsympathetically: "This is your world."⁹ But that is not enough: the writer is intent on destroying even that enduring symbol of delicate femininity—the glass slipper. Basing her satire on contemporary commercialism and love of celebrity, she sketches an imaginary scene in which the slipper is placed in a bullet-proof glass case in a museum to be admired by all the king's men, "visitors allowed/ From five o'clock (cocktails will be served) till midnight."¹⁰ On sale are plaster copies of the footprint. Zabuzhko foresees a

4. As Zabuzhko stated during a private interview in Kyiv in June 2000.

5. Examples are also plentiful in Zabuzhko's novel *Polovi doslidzhennia z ukrainskoho seksu* (Kyiv: Zhoda, 1996).

6. See Zabuzhko's rejection of this responsibility in her article "Reinventing the Poet in Modern Ukrainian Culture," *Slavic and East European Journal* 39, no. 2 (1995): 275.

7. Oksana Zabuzhko, "Zhinka-avtor u kolonialnii kulturi, abo znadoby do ukrainskoi gendernoi mifolohii," in her *Khronika vid Fortinbrasa: Vybrana eseistyka 90-kh* (Kyiv: Fakt, 1999), 193.

8. Zabuzhko, *A Kingdom*, 7.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

newspaper report of the prince's marriage to a neighbouring country's princess and confronts Cinderella with it, dismissing any remaining illusions of a possible happy ending. Life is not a romantic fairy tale, but a constant challenge.

In a similar way, Zabuzhko's satire destroys the traditional image of Ophelia. She is presented as a cynical, vodka-drinking, cigarette-smoking actress who no longer believes in the characters she plays and the sentiments they express. Again, this alternative picture allows for no illusions or pretense. As an actress, Ophelia dismisses the choice she has between marriage and a nunnery ("Marry a fool? I've done that. / And a nunnery doesn't quite fit my temper") and she cannot pretend that nymphs exist ("Fair Ophelia, nymph'.... there are no nymphs anymore"¹¹). The director's command makes her shudder—the male hierarchy continues. "A world without Agamemnon,"¹² a world without domineering men and their patriarchal ideology, is also Clytemnestra's cynical dream. In fact, the world Zabuzhko presents is one of perpetual conflict between men and women, who are at odds ideologically in their attitudes to war, sex, male-female relationships, and power. Neither the traditional image of Ophelia nor the choices male-dominated society imposed on the literature of the time have any currency for female ideology in the contemporary world (the actress is "hiding in the gallery and smoking.... She stubs out her cigarette [Surgeon General's Warning!]"¹³).

Of course, some women may hold the patriarchal view of what a woman ought to be, how she ought to behave towards men, and what she ought to feel. Zabuzhko's "Clytemnestra" begins with the epigraph "You're not really a woman" from Lesia Ukrainka (1871–1913).¹⁴ Cassandra is the alternative image of woman—soft, gentle, and amenable. Clytemnestra says later in the text, "Maybe I'm not really a woman" and describes sexual intercourse as an act of male domination equivalent to the violent acts of war ("That's how Troy, outstretched, writhed under you"¹⁵) and as something bestial. Indeed,

11. Ibid., 10.

12. Ibid., 5. "Clytemnestra" is examined in more detail in my "Proiavy romantychnoho ta seksualnoho v suchasnii ukrainskii poezii," *Suchasnist*, 2000, no. 2: 109–14.

13. *A Kingdom*, 9–10.

14. The words are addressed by Cassandra to Clytemnestra as they meet on the threshold of the Mycenae palace upon Agamemnon's return from the wars in the epilogue to Lesia Ukrainka's dramatic poem *Kassandra* (Lesia Ukrainka, *Tvory*, ed. B. Iakubovsky, vol. 6 [New York: Tyschenko & Bilous, 1954], xxxiii).

15. *A Kingdom*, 4.

Zabuzhko's Clytemnestra is a woman whose sentiments and emotions are like those traditionally associated only with men. Like a typical male ruler, she declares at the end of the poem: "With a single lordly gesture / Of my hand, steady with the cold, obedient metal, / I'll outdo everything you have accomplished, / I'll establish a new kingdom, / A world without Agamemnon."¹⁶

Zabuzhko's cynical portrayal of Gertrude in the poem "Ophelia to Gertrude"¹⁷ presents women's alleged power through sex and lies as an unfortunate aspect of femininity compared to the masculine, more overt strategies for exerting power. The texts mentioned here are strongest when they use alternative voices (to express satire and cynicism), rhetoric, and a non-standard and therefore unexpected idiom in developing their themes. This conscious departure from the discursive strategies that reinforce existing norms of behaviour is postmodern in nature and feminist in ideology. By bringing each of the scenes from literary history into the present (by alluding to aspects of the Western literary or cultural tradition, such as those associated with the glass slipper and smoking) and by applying current contexts and stylistic forms not normally applied to these subjects, Zabuzhko challenges previously received interpretations of the subject matter and effectively undermines norms governing male-female relations and the power struggle they represent.

In contrast to Zabuzhko, Natalka Bilotserkivets in her new collection of poetry, *Alerhiia* (Allergy), signals only obliquely that for her literature is ungendered. Her voice is not a female one: her poetry could have been written by a male or a female. The poem "Stari kokhantsi" (Old Lovers),¹⁸ a description of the poet's psychological journey in coming to terms with the reality of love and death, is intended to show this. She does not try to subvert existing norms, but rather to examine philosophically the long-term effects of having viewed at the age of twenty Otto Dix's expressionist painting of two naked old lovers. The text represents the writer's rationalization and final acceptance of her fear of death and the fact of physical love in later years. She is tempted to make a derogatory remark typical of self-righteous adults about a girl and boy she sees on the street, but refrains for "What do I know about their tenderness and passion?"¹⁹ She reveals herself as a vulnerable individual who values intimate emotions of the moment and

16. Ibid., 5.

17. Ibid., 11.

18. Natalka Bilotserkivets, *Alerhiia: Virshi* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 1999), 54.

19. Ibid., 54.

refuses to use them for conveying ideological messages to the reader. It should be remembered that themes of sexuality and desire are the focus of feminist readings.²⁰ Although a writer such as Bilotserkivets does not consider herself to be an author of gendered or feminist texts, the term “masked feminism,” which refers to textual strategies that are hidden from the uninitiated reader and require informed interpretation,²¹ may be applicable to her work.

Another example of what appears to be non-feminist poetry is Bilotserkivets’s “Saksofonist” (Saxophonist), in which saxophone playing in the subway may be interpreted as a metaphor of sexual intercourse:

в золоту трубу
у нічній трубі
він сурмить весну
віддану йому

як щасливий схлип
як любовний скрик²²

The musical instrument and the subway, referred to as the golden tube and the night-time tube, and the climactic sound of the instrument suggest lovemaking between the player and Spring, which is sacrificed to him and his art. This is therefore both an artistic act and an act of love. The tense atmosphere is heightened by sordid elements of the Kyiv subway: this is where the pale-faced flower sellers and disabled beggars sit in a fog of cigarette smoke among trashed newspapers and puddles of urine that freeze at night. The text, which is carefully constructed using sharp contrasts between positive and negative aspects, portrays a scene that had an emotional impact on the writer.

Bilotserkivets’s focus is on the intimate emotions of the moment, for she deliberately writes almost exclusively in the present tense. This gives her poetry a sense of immediate, raw experience. She avoids the past tense, which is often associated with reflection and nostalgia. She leaves behind the

20. See David Buchbinder’s assessment of feminist themes in his *Contemporary Literary Theory and the Reading of Poetry* (Perth, W.A.: Curtin University of Technology, 1991), 124.

21. See my “Masked Feminism in Ukrainian Literature,” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 20, nos. 1–2 (1995): 61–7.

22. into the golden tube / in the night-time tube / he trumpets the Spring / given to him // like a joyful sob / like a cry of love (Bilotserkivets, *Alerhiia*, 13).

country's past with all its political and cultural complexities and concentrates on individuals and how they survive in the new society. A kind of timeless present is achieved by using very few verbs, as in the following text:

В забутім закутку занедбаного міста
тобі тринадцять років.
Як лоша,
твоя велика скупана душа
така ж незграбна і зухвало чиста.

І рук тонких, і довгих ніг твоїх,
і чорних брів з-під гриви золотої,
м'ячів ... скакалок ... ролерів ... доріг —
о, як шкода для долі нелегкої.²³

The terms “занедбане місто” and “доля нелегка” may be seen as references to difficult post-colonial economic times, but essentially this is a moment captured and treasured as a personal experience. This excerpt from the (Ukrainian) text is perhaps the best example of a syntactic postmodern device—the complete absence of verbs. In the translation verbs are added because English lacks the means to construct similar elliptical expressions. The absence of verbs creates a photographic effect, an instantaneous snapshot, rather than a scene with movement. As if fearful of alienating the male reader, the poet often adopts the voice of the second-person singular when addressing her subject, consciously leaving the gender unmarked and the tense in the present (since the Ukrainian past tense would automatically reveal the gender).

Both Zabuzhko and Bilotserkivets, as one would expect, view love and all associated elements soberly and ironically. Each analyses her experiences methodically, not romantically. The closest Zabuzhko comes to the romantic in her review of a relationship is: “All we need is love, all the rest is crap.”²⁴ Bilotserkivets writes equally cynically, “жодне кохання не щастя, тим більше оце” (no love is happiness, particularly not this one), invariably mentioning violence and some form of revulsion.²⁵ Love in Kyiv

23. In a forgotten corner of the neglected city / you are thirteen. / Like a foal, / your large bathed soul / is awkward and impertinently clean. // And thin arms and your long legs, / and eyebrows black, beneath a golden mane, / balls ... skipping ropes ... scooters ... roads— / oh, what a pity for a fate uneasy (*ibid.*, 29).

24. *A Kingdom*, 62.

25. *Alerhiia*, 20.

is fraught with physical danger, she warns the reader. The knife is an ever-present threat (and although not overtly sexual in its symbolism, it may unconsciously be such). A metaphor for falling in love and experiencing strong emotion is falling from a balcony or the sky and driving “на свій брудний, маленький свій Париж” (to your dirty, your little Paris).²⁶ (Compare this with Bilotserkivets’s earlier words: “We’ll not die in Paris I know now for sure.”²⁷)

Ultimately each poet must “find a self [that] is acceptable to itself.”²⁸ While Bilotserkivets has chosen the ungendered approach, Zabuzhko is pitted against the male in an endless power struggle. On the one hand, it is a struggle she is almost afraid to win, for freedom is “luminous and terrifying”. On the other, she claims not to be afraid to be alone; she fears commitment to one person more. Her work indicates a need for control over the details of her life and particularly her relationships with men. The question of traditional control by the male leads psychiatrist Anthony Clare to state: “But all men, myself included, do not just love women.... We fear them, hate them, marginalize them, denigrate them and categorize them. And we continually strive to control and dominate them. Power and control are the twin themes that reverberate through the analysis of male sexual aggression, male culture, male preoccupations, indeed every aspect of male life. Stereotypical male activities ... involve the assertion of the self against constraint, against control.”²⁹ It is important to mention that Clare is examining why contemporary men are turning against women. His argument concerns his fear that men are being excluded from the fathering role and will grow up to be the misogynists of the future, but some feminists would argue that there is to some extent a connection between patriarchy and misogyny.

Both Zabuzhko and Bilotserkivets show an awareness of the fact that, particularly in Ukraine, there still exists a certain resentment toward women who believe they need no longer find fulfillment only through men and families. If it is this realization, together with the one that there has been an unequal representation of men’s and women’s experience in world culture

26. Ibid., 55.

27. Bilotserkivets, “We’ll Not Die in Paris,” in *From Three Worlds: New Ukrainian Writing*, ed. Ed Hogan et al. (Boston: Zephyr Press, 1996), 149. Here the culture of Paris stands in binary opposition to the cultural desert that may exist anywhere, even within the boundaries of a large city.

28. Morwena Griffiths, *Feminism and the Self: The Web of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 77.

29. Anthony Clare, *On Men: Masculinity in Crisis* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000).

that drives feminist writers and theorists,³⁰ then both poets are actively redressing this imbalance. Although Zabuzhko's poetic voice is strongly gendered and Bilotserkivets prefers hers to remain ambiguous, each reveals the complexities of the contemporary Ukrainian experience through female eyes. Each follows her own path of resistance to existing configurations.

30. Nila Zborovska's *Feministychni rozdumy: Na karnavali mertvykh potsilunkiv* (Lviv: Centre of Humanities Research of Lviv University, 1999) provides a good overview of the relevance of this theory to Ukrainian literature.

The Language of Polarized Femininities in Contemporary Ukraine*

Alla Nedashkivska

This article analyzes the language of women's magazines, which are one of the most significant and yet least studied social institutions today. Along with other forms of media, magazines contribute to the wider cultural processes that define the position of women society. They help shape both women's view of themselves and society's view of women.¹

A broad approach attempts to correlate linguistics, media, and cultural studies in analyzing the relationships between a linguistic analysis of text and socio-cultural contexts. The media are viewed as a cultural production and as a representation of the world in text, with language being one form of the text. The role of language in the media is not neutral, but highly constructive in mediating ideas, values, and beliefs. As Fowler (1991) notes, language assists in the formation and reproduction of the schematic categories in terms of which a society represents itself.

The cultural base for the present analysis is the language of the popular women's press. In particular, this pilot study analyzes the language of two of the most popular Ukrainian-language women's magazines, *Jeva* and *Žinka*, and shows that there is a clear relationship between linguistic variables and the meanings instantiated in the magazines. This investigation reveals how

* The International Linguistic transliteration system is used in this article.

1. With respect to the Slavic world, gender studies and gender linguistics in particular have received only modest attention, although they have been the focus of international, primarily English-language, scholarship for over two decades. Only a few studies on the subject, based on Polish, Czech, and Russian data, have appeared (see Margaret Mills 1999: the first and thus far the only publication on Slavic gender linguistics).

linguistic codings project different femininities in the culture of contemporary Ukraine.²

My analysis is based on an investigation of women's language, not in comparison to male discourse (as several studies in gender linguistics do), but rather with respect to its varieties and their relation to forms of social organization.³ The discussion unfolds around the premise that "different forms of social relation can generate different speech systems or communication codes" (Ervin-Tripp 1964, 1969; Gumperz 1964; Hymes 1967; cited in Bernstein 1986: 473).

This article attempts to do two things. First, it presents a linguistic analysis of the language of two women's magazines, outlining the nature and extent of the differences between the publications, including the lexis, semantics of the address systems, and syntax. Secondly, the article places the analytical outcomes within the model of socio-semantic theory put forward by Basil Bernstein (1970, 1986, 1990), a theory focusing on the restricted and elaborated coding available to members of speech communities as they create and perpetuate their individual and collective identities. It will be shown that different linguistic coding correlates with social coding expressing the underlying ideological positions of women.

Based on the analysis of linguistic patterns across all major sections of the magazines, the present article seeks to adduce evidence in support of the hypothesis that each magazine offers readers a different ideology of femininity.⁴ I suggest that *Jeva* is oriented towards elaborate coding to mark its progressive, dynamic, and affirmative femininity, whereas *Žinka*

2. Until recently there has been no clear evidence of interest in analyzing particular linguistic variables, whether text internally or in relation to social contexts. German linguists Erbring and Shabedoth (1993, cited in Eggins and Jedema 1997) used linguistic analysis to identify differences in editorial styles among four German women's magazines, studying differences in the ways the magazines conceived and realized audience preferences, and interests and how these offered particular discourse(s) on femininity. A study of Australian women's magazines was carried out by Eggins and Jedema (1997), who analyzed the semantic orientation and ideology of women's magazines. Their analysis, based on the study of both linguistic and visual patterns, outlined differences in magazines' editorial styles and showed how these differences become marketers' tools for generating consumer choice.

3. See Macdonald 1995 for a discussion of women's diverse voices and their representation in the media.

4. "Femininity" is understood here as "a state, a condition, a craft, and an art form which comprise a set of practices and beliefs" that shape both a woman's view of herself and society's view of her (Ferguson 1983: 1).

is oriented towards a restricted code signalling a traditional and immobile femininity.⁵

Background

Before analyzing their linguistic structures, it is important to outline some general information about these magazines. First of all, the selection of *Jeva* and *Žinka* for analysis is motivated by the fact that both are the only current Ukrainian-language women's magazines in Ukraine that appeared in the 1990s without interruption.⁶ They are published in Kyiv and, as confirmed by interviews with readers, editors, and magazine vendors (conducted in the summer of 2000), are popular and widely read. Moreover, their readership, circulation, editorial makeup, and ideological position can be easily compared to set the background for the linguistic analysis. The information that follows is based on interviews conducted in July 2000 with the magazines' editors in Kyiv (both editors asked to remain anonymous).⁷

History. *Žinka* is a monthly with a long tradition dating back to 1920.⁸ *Jeva* started regular publication in 1993 with four issues annually and expanded to six in 1996.⁹

Target Audience. According to both editors, the magazines are targeted at women in the twenty–fifty age group. *Žinka* aims at "women with at least

5. It is important to note here that coding refers to performance, not competence; each code contains a vast potential of meanings and carries its own esthetics; and neither should be disvalued.

6. Other popular Ukrainian women's periodicals are: *Žinoči sekrety* (published only during the years 1993–7); *Kyjanka* (regularly published since 1991, but targets the female audience predominantly of Kyiv); *Zdorov"ja žinky v Ukrajini* (limited to health topics, published since 1998); and *Astarta* (a women's newspaper published irregularly in 1996 and 1997).

7. Each interview was tape-recorded and lasted approximately one hour. Because of space limitation, only essential information about the magazines is provided.

8. The name of the magazine went through various changes: *Seljanka Ukrajiny* (1924–31), *Kolhospnycja* (1931–41), and *Radjans'ka žinka* (1946–90). Before its current name, *Žinka*, was selected, various proposals were considered, including *Lesja* (in honour of Lesja Ukrajinka, the famous Ukrainian writer) and *Sofija* (the Christian mother of Vira 'Faith,' Nadija 'Hope,' and Ljubov 'Love'). According to the editor, the name change was minimal in order to preserve the magazine's profile among the flood of new Ukrainian and foreign women's magazines that appeared in the 1990s.

9. The magazine's predecessor is the Lithuanian women's magazine *Eve*, which started in 1989, and was published in Lithuanian in Vilnius and Russian in Kyiv. After Ukrainian independence, the magazine was divided, and the Ukrainian-language magazine, entirely separate from its Lithuanian forerunner, was created in 1992.

a secondary education who want a normal psychological climate in their family and who can do things with their hands, i.e., embroider, sow, or cook." The target audience of *Jeva* are "progressive women who want to achieve something in life and want to have a lot of information so as to serve as authoritative sources for their children, husbands, and co-workers."¹⁰

Circulation. The circulation of *Žinka* is 70,000 per issue, eighty-five percent by subscription. *Žinka* sells in all regions of Ukraine and, according to the editor, there are ten readers per copy and "people read the magazine until it falls apart." *Jeva* prints an average of 15,000 copies per issue, some 1,000 of which are sold by subscription. It sells throughout Ukraine but the largest number is sold in Kyiv.¹¹

Funding. Both magazines are self-funded. *Žinka* depends mostly on sales and subscriptions and only partially on advertising. *Jeva* sells below cost and survives on advertising.¹²

Size. The two magazines differ significantly in size: *Žinka* is on average thirty-five pages long, whereas *Jeva* is up to 130 pages. However, in terms of printed text, the size of the magazines is comparable: each contains approximately thirty to forty articles of various length (a number of pages in *Jeva* are dedicated to advertising and fashion).

Content. Both magazines are structured around women's everyday concerns: both focus on appearance, urging women to take care of their bodies and to consume beauty-enhancing goods (cosmetics, fashionable clothing) to be attractive to men. Both print discussions about relationships with men. In addition, both offer readers some professional advice, e.g., how

10. Although both target a female audience, *Jeva* does not exclude male readers: *Jak čo Vy čtajete naš žurnal... Vy xoroša(yj). Abo pohana(yj). Dyvlyčas' ščo dlja Vas je komplimentom. 'If you read our magazine...You are good_{fem(masc)}. Or you are bad_{fem(masc)}. Depending on what you consider a compliment' (Jeva, Winter 1998–99: 3).*

11. According to *Jeva*'s editor, since the magazine is published in Ukrainian, demand should be higher in predominantly Ukrainian-speaking western Ukraine, but it is low there because of difficult economic conditions. As to the southern regions of Ukraine, in some cities, such as Donetsk for example, authorities have refused to allow sales of Ukrainian-language magazines because they believe that in the predominantly Russian-speaking cities no one will buy them (comment by *Jeva*'s editor).

12. The types of advertisements in both magazines are somewhat similar: cosmetic products, fashion, and medicine. *Jeva* also advertises travel, boutiques, and foreign companies. Overall, in *Jeva* the advertisements are much more numerous, which may explain its glossiness, colourfulness, and thickness. With respect to advertisements in *Žinka*, the editor noted: "We do accept ads and our prices are fair; however, we need to be careful and we always ask the advertisers to explain their product to the audience."

to prepare a resume. Both include frequent interviews with experts from various walks of life. Moreover, women's prose and poetry, as well as (irregular) horoscope sections, appear in both. The main difference between them is that *Jeva* has extended sections on fashion, while *Žinka* contains many pages of sowing patterns, cooking recipes, occasional children's pages, personal advice, and some brief fashion articles.

Editorial makeup. The editorial staff of both magazines consists of women. Journalists, working for both publications are invited from outside; this fact, according to *Jeva*'s editor, ensures diversity of voices and makes the magazine more interesting. Mostly women write for the magazines.¹³

Editorial process. In both magazines the process of editing and publication is highly controlled. In *Žinka* an article from the author goes to the section editor, then is passed on to the literary editor, who works on all sections of the magazine, after which it travels to the general secretary and finally to the main editor. In *Jeva* ninety percent of articles are commissioned. The editorial board decides on a topic, invites authors write on it, and tells them what is wanted and needed. Before publication the article undergoes content- and copy-editing and is approved by the chief editor.

Both magazines invite readers to associate themselves with their feminine reading community. What distinguishes them in most general terms is their perception of women in society. A clear division of the world into men and women, signalling the more traditional-patriarchal position, is evident in *Žinka*.¹⁴ *Jeva* abstains from dividing the world into women and men; rather it divides the feminine community into *Jeva* women and other "conservative" and "sentimentally handicapped women" (*Jeva*, Summer 1999: 2), suggesting a stronger pro-woman stance. Further differences between the magazines will be addressed in the discussion that follows.

13. The editor of *Žinka* mentioned that "We do support women and give them preference. But if in a certain specialty the best person is a man, then we invite him to write. We demand professionalism."

14. On one of the recent issue's (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 5) cover page, one finds the following slogan: *Čoloviky! Sxylit'sja pered neju v pošani i zaxoplenni. Vona — peremože.* 'Men! Bow before her in respect and admiration. She will win.' In another issue, in a discussion about dreams, we find: *Žinochi sny — simejni, myroljubni. A čoloviči — ahresyvni. Ta i prycyny bezsonnja u žinok ta čolovikiv zovsim neodnakovi.* 'Female dreams are about the family, they are peace-loving. But male dreams are aggressive. Moreover, the causes of insomnia in women and men are different' (*Žinka*, 1998–99: 28).

Methodology

Ten issues of *Jeva* and fifteen issues of *Žinka* published from 1997 to 2000 were surveyed. The aim was to compare their editorial styles. Here I focus on the more or less frequent linguistic patterns found in the main sections of the magazines—the editor's column and letters to the editor. The former overtly represents the editorial style and exemplifies the dialogue between the magazine and its readers. The latter are important clues to stylistic differences: even though the letters are written by readers, not by editorial staff, their selection for publication reflects the magazine's editorial stance, desired image, concerns, and ideology, in addition to readers' attitudes. Some examples are taken also from personal stories, advertisements, expert-advice columns, and feature articles. Furthermore, the textual analysis is supported, whenever this is relevant, by the results of a frequency check for lexical and syntactic entries drawn from the 7,888-word corpus of *Žinka* and the 7,132-word corpus of *Jeva*. On the basis of this analysis it is possible to identify highly consistent features—lexical, semantic, and syntactic—that are stable between and across the analyzed sections of each magazine.

Lexis

The lexical structure or vocabulary of a language “amounts to a map of objects, concepts, processes and relationships about which the culture needs to communicate;” thus, it is crucial to study which lexical items “habitually occur, what segments of the society's world enjoy constant discursive attention” (Fowler 1991: 82).

The analysis presented in Table 1 summarizes the patterns of lexical differences in the language of each magazine. Note, however, that lexical items are assigned to categories not subjectively, but based on their function in the discourse in which they occur, or rather within a paradigm of lexical items in a particular discourse. Therefore the concentration is on tendencies, which, according to Gerbner (1985: 23), are understood as measures of the evaluative attributes to a unit of attention. Whether something is good or bad does not depend on its frequency or prominence, but rather on various combinations of discourse elements that determine its meaning.

Bearing this in mind, a clear contrast appears between the choice of lexical items in the language of *Jeva* and *Žinka*.

Table 1: Lexical Differences

Lexis	<i>Jeva</i>	<i>Žinka</i>
connotation of	joy, happiness optimism Live, Dynamic Neologisms Foreign Prestigious lexis (assumed educational level in readers) Slang/colloquialisms	trouble, misfortune pessimism Familiar, Neutral Traditional Local, Patriotic Neutral Folk idioms

First of all, the language of *Jeva* is characterized by a lexis with the connotation of joy, happiness, and optimism, which signals the essentially positive and progressive outlook of the magazine: *peremoha* ‘victory,’ *počatok* ‘beginning,’ *svjato* ‘celebration,’ *radist* ‘happiness,’ *udača* ‘luck,’ *zdibnosti* ‘abilities,’ *przy* ‘prizes,’ *žarty* ‘jokes,’ *veselošči* ‘joy,’ *rozvahy* ‘entertainment,’ *zaxvat* ‘enthusiasm,’ *optymistyčno* ‘optimistically,’ and so on.

Such lexical items (nouns, adjectives, and verbs) comprise 5.4 percent of the 7,132-word corpus of *Jeva* and only 1.24 percent of the 7,888-word corpus of *Žinka*.

Žinka, on the other hand, displays a noticeable number of lexical choices with the connotation of misfortune, troubles, and pessimism. The frequency count indicates a 5.0 percent occurrence rate in *Žinka* (compared to 0.4 percent in *Jeva*) and marks the magazine’s pessimistic outlook: *kopitka praca* ‘hard work,’ *pit* ‘sweat,’ *neščasna dolja* ‘unfortunate fate,’ *nedoliky* ‘shortcomings,’ *boljače* ‘painfully,’ *skladni časy* ‘hard time,’ *material’na skruta* ‘financial difficulties,’ *na žal* ‘unfortunately,’ *degradacija* ‘degradation,’ *kryza* ‘crisis,’ *zhubni naslidky* ‘disastrous results,’ *inšyj svit* ‘other world,’ *rozproščavsja z žyttjam* ‘departed from life,’ *durne serce* ‘foolish heart,’ *durepa* ‘fool’ (female), *bil’* ‘pain,’ *hore* ‘misfortune,’ *smert’* ‘death,’ *zrada* ‘betrayal,’ *samotnist’* ‘loneliness,’ *slabkist’* ‘weakness.’

Furthermore, several lexical choices in *Jeva* may be termed live and dynamic, indicating a good start and oriented towards a positive future. This set is comprised of the following: *prosunutuj* ‘advanced,’ *emansypovana* ‘emancipated,’ *rux* ‘movement,’ *vidčuttja sučasnosti* ‘the sense of contemporariness,’ *aktyvnist’* ‘activeness,’ *neordynarnist’* ‘uniqueness,’ *zmina* ‘change.’

Žinka, on the other hand, favours a familiar or neutral lexis emphasizing the need for stability and well-being in general, including choices such as

spokij ‘calmness, peace,’ *oselja* ‘home, dwelling,’ *stabil’nist* ‘stability,’ *dobrobut* ‘well-being,’ and *zlahoda* ‘harmony.’

Jeva parts with *Žinka* even further by using numerous neologisms, such as *nadnova* ‘super new,’ *mapuvaty* ‘to copy,’ *nosybel’nyj* ‘wearable,’ *pani krytykesy* ‘mesdames critics,’ *obmizkuvaty* ‘to think through,’ *vsjudysutnij* ‘present everywhere,’ and *konkretyka* ‘concrete details.’

The language of *Žinka* is bound to the traditional in its lexical coding. *Jeva* strives for what is new and dynamic, while *Žinka* is oriented towards the familiar and immobile.

The orientation towards novelty is reinforced by the extensive use of a foreign lexis, which is extremely common in *Jeva*.¹⁵ Consider: *parti* ‘party,’ *topy* ‘tops,’ *šou* ‘show,’ *miks* ‘mix,’ *svits’kyj raut* ‘official outing,’ *trend* ‘trend,’ *trendovi kolekciji* ‘trendy collections,’ *rejtynh* ‘rating,’ *čat* ‘chat,’ *kofi-šop* ‘coffee shop,’ *kofi-bar* ‘coffee bar,’ *drajv (=rušij)* ‘drive,’ *provajder* ‘provider,’ *drap* ‘dope,’ *relaksuvaty* ‘to relax,’ *vakacijnyj* ‘vacation’ (adj.), *rarytet* ‘rarity,’ *v onlajni* ‘on-line,’ *internetovs’kyj* ‘Internet’(adj), *kutur* ‘fashion designer,’ *kofjur* ‘hairdressing,’ *kastynhy* ‘casting,’ *defile* ‘procession,’ *uniseks* ‘unisex,’ *pirsynh* ‘piercing,’ *biksy na zuby* ‘teeth studs,’ *doška dlja skejtu* ‘skateboard,’ *vindserfinh* ‘windsurfing,’ *butik* ‘beauty salon,’ *bomond* ‘beau monde,’ *saundtrek* ‘soundtrack,’ *noutbuk* ‘notebook,’ *klipmejkerstvo* ‘clip making,’ *zmahannja z dartsu* ‘darts competition,’ *armreslinh* ‘arm wrestling,’ *tantsjuval’ni relizy* ‘dance releases,’ *šejker* ‘shaker,’ *paryz’ki snoby* ‘Parisian snobs.’

In *Žinka* the foreign lexis is lacking (except for old borrowings such as *ekspreptom* ‘impromptu’). Interestingly comparable, however, is the frequent use of “patriotic” entries in *Žinka*: *ljubov do bat’kivšcyny* ‘love for the fatherland,’ *ridna zemlja* ‘native land,’ *vitčyzna* ‘motherland,’ *dostojni hromadjany* ‘honourable citizens,’ *podvyh* ‘heroic deed.’ These well- and widely-known sloganlike expressions delineate the magazine’s orientation towards (or even nostalgia for) past traditions.

In *Jeva*, which also demonstrates a clear pro-Ukrainian stance, the “patriotism” is toned down: *ukrajins’kyj* ‘Ukrainian,’ *žyteli Ukrayiny* ‘inhabitants of Ukraine,’ *v Ukrayini* ‘in Ukraine,’ and so on.

The next set of lexical items that sets the magazines apart is *Jeva*’s “prestigious” lexis, which signals a certain educational level in readers. Entries like those below make the language sound up-to-date and progressive: *leptop*

15. In Ukraine many other contemporary publications enjoy the extensive use of foreign borrowings, and the question of neologisms in modern Ukrainian deserves a separate study.

‘laptop,’ *mobil'nyj telefon* ‘mobile phone,’ *pentijum* ‘Pentium,’ *netskejp* ‘Netscape,’ *NETprostir* ‘cyberspace,’ *mas-medija* ‘mass media,’ *virtual'nyj svit* ‘virtual world.’

Jeva’s frequent use of slang and colloquialisms underlines its break with tradition and familiarity with the latest developments. Such choices also create a casual, conversational atmosphere: *prykyd* ‘outfit,’ *pofihists'kyj dux* ‘indifference,’ *prykol* ‘cool stuff,’ *lox* ‘out-of-style person,’ *čyhaty* ‘to scavenge,’ *klasno* ‘cool,’ *krutyj* ‘cool person,’ *bunhalo* ‘place of residence,’ *maxljuvannja* ‘cheating,’ *tusovka* ‘gang,’ *poterevenyty* ‘to chat,’ *vijukuvannja* ‘explanation,’ *porpannja* ‘to muddle around,’ *furor* ‘big deal.’

Žinka avoids using slang and colloquialisms. Instead, by drawing frequently on folk idioms and poetic expressions, it creates an informal traditional atmosphere; for example: *tipun' na jazyk* ‘don’t say it,’ *sadok vyšnevyyj* ‘cherry orchard,’ *ne darma* ‘not for nothing,’ *vtovkmačuvaty* ‘to convince,’ *netjamkovyta* ‘fool,’ *use pišlo škerebert'* ‘all went to hell,’ *nivečyty žyttja* ‘to ruin one’s life,’ *lehin'*, *holub* ‘beloved_{masc.}’

This brief comparison shows that the magazines diverge in their lexical choices. I contend that the language of *Jeva* supports an assertive interaction with the reader through its live, dynamic, and progressive outlook. *Žinka* relies on traditional, immobile, and neutral lexis to avoid such an impression.

Semantics of the Dialogue: The Magazines and Their Readers

The lexical differences are strongly supported by the semantical differences in the dialogue between the magazine and its readers. Let us analyze address systems and representations of the author’s positions in the magazines.

A comparison of the forms of address reveals differences in the magazines’ positioning toward their readers. The study of these issues is an important component in the present framework, for address systems of language correlate closely with social structure (Paulston 1994: 2). The present analysis is based on the notion of reciprocity and directness, that is, on a direct dialogue between the writer/speaker and the reader/hearer, and not necessarily a symmetrical address system with *tu-tu* or *vous-vous*, which was found in earlier studies on power and solidarity semantics with respect to address systems (i.e., Brown and Gilman 1960).¹⁶ The findings are summarized in Table 2.

16. See also Tannen 1994 (chapter one: 19–52) for a discussion of power and solidarity, gender and dominance, and the relativity of linguistic strategies.

Table 2: Semantics of the Writer/Reader Dialogue¹⁷

Dialogue	<i>Jeva</i>	<i>Žinka</i>
Forms of address	<i>ty</i> , <i>vy</i> = <i>žinka</i> (you sg./pl.=woman) - <i>(i/j)mo</i> (let's) <i>ledi</i> (lady)	<i>vy</i> = <i>žinky</i> (you pl.=women) indirect address address to all
Authors' positions	<i>ja</i> (I) <i>my</i> (we)=authors	<i>my</i> (we)= <i>žinky</i> (women) <i>my</i> (we)=authors

In *Jeva* the common address forms are direct *ty* 'you singular,' respectful *vy* 'you plural,' *ledi* 'lady,' and an inclusive, solidarizing 'let's.' The use of familiar *ty* signals the author's closeness with the reader, as in

1. *Teper holovne, ščo v tebe na oblyčči, na holovi, na rukax.* 'Now what's important is what *you_{SG}* have on your face, head, and hands' (*Jeva*, Winter 1998–99: 122).

The *vy* forms are used singularly, addressing a particular reader of the magazine (not all women) and carrying respect, as in the following:

2. *Jakščo vy šče ne vyznačylysja — vyznačtesja.* 'If *you_{PL}* haven't yet defined yourself, define yourself' (*Jeva*, Spring 1999: 100).
3. *Poklavšy ruku na serce, vidverto, dajte vidpovid' na vsi zapytannja ankety. Vidrižte jiji po konturu i, OBOV"JAZKOVO, čujete, OBOV"JAZKOVO, razom z anketou vkladit' do konverta svoju najuljublenišu fotohrafiju. Za ščo Vy Nas ljubyte?* 'From the bottom of your heart, honestly, *give_{PL}* answers to all of the questions in the questionnaire. *Clip_{PL}* it along the contours, (and)

17. Statistical data is based on ninety-five instances of address and forty-five indications of the authors' positions in *Jeva* (in the 7,132-word corpus) and ninety-one address forms and fifty-six examples of the authors' positions in *Žinka* (the 7,888-word corpus). The frequency analysis indicates the following results for *Jeva* and *Žinka* respectively:

<i>Forms of address</i> (in %):		<i>Authors' positions</i> (in %):
<i>ty</i> 'you sg.'	37.9 vs. 2	<i>ja</i> 'I' 48.9 vs. 25
<i>vy</i> 'you sg.=woman'	24.2 vs. 8.8	<i>my</i> 'we=authors' 24.4 vs. 21.4
<i>vy</i> 'you pl.=women'	9.47 vs. 31.87	<i>my</i> 'we=women' 26.7 vs. 53.6
<i>ledi</i> 'lady'	8.4 vs. 0	
- <i>(i/j)mo</i> 'let's'	11.6 vs. 6.6	
indirect	8.4 vs. 50.5	

DEFINITELY, note_{PL}, DEFINITELY, along with your questionnaire, place_{PL} your favourite photo into the envelope. What do you_{PL} like us for?' (Jeva, Fall 1998: 140).

In both (2) and (3) the magazine interacts with the reader using the respectful *vy* form.

Jeva also introduces some innovative forms of address, such as *myla ledi* 'dear lady' and *istynna ledi* 'true lady,' as in examples 4 and 5:

4. ... *vy, myla ledi, dopratsuvalys' do toho, ščo ... zapljuščujete oči i bačyte vyključno svij samotnij syluet.* '... you_{PL}, dear lady, worked yourself to the point that ... you_{PL} close your eyes and see exclusively your lonely silhouette' (Jeva, Summer 1999: 130).

5. *Ale v usjakomu razi istynna ledi povynna šče j raxuvatys' iz novitnimy tendencijamy svitovojo mody.* 'In any case, a **true lady** must also take into account the newest tendencies of world fashion' (Jeva, Summer 1999: 132).

These interesting forms of address are common in *Jeva*. They are not as direct as the *ty* and *vy* forms, discussed above. However, they are loaded with prestige and newness, which reinforces the difference in language between the two magazines.

Jeva also frequently uses first-person plural forms, 'let's' and so on, which show closeness and collaboration with the reader, as in example 6:

6. *Podyvimosja, ščo proponujut' kyjivs'ki salony.* 'Let's see, what the Kyiv salons have to offer' (Jeva, Winter 1998–99: 122).

Forms of address found in *Žinka* are radically different from those in *Jeva*. First of all, the use of familiar *ty* is practically absent. In the analyzed data, the use of this form is found only twice. One instance is found when *ty* occurs in the title of an article (example 7a); however, in the article itself the form of address is switched to *vy* (example 7b):

7a. *Xočeš sebe rozmaljuvaty? Može krašče obklejitysja?* 'Would you **like_{SG}** to paint yourself? Maybe it's better to use stickers?'

7b. *Otož, jakščo vy vse-taky zvažylysja vyokremytyjsja z-pomiž inšyx ... vraxujite: tatujuvannja — ce operacija.* 'So, if you_{PL} have nevertheless dared to distinguish **yourself_{PL}** from others ... consider_{PL} this: tattooing is surgery' (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 6: 29).

The article in which both examples 7a and 7b occur is about tattooing and carries the message “don’t do it: it is not healthy, and it could be fatal.” The second *ty* is also used in a warning:

8. *Zjisy ci vovči jahody, odrazu j pomreš.* ‘If you eat_{SG} these “wolf” berries, you’ll die_{SG} immediately’ (*Žinka*, 1998, no. 9: 15).

Interestingly enough, the use of *ty* in examples 7a and 8 proves the statement made by Brown and Gilman (1960: 277) that the choice of a pronoun can violate a group norm, express some attitude or emotion of the speaker, or carry the message that the addressee is viewed as an outsider of a group. Therefore, by choosing *ty* in example 8, the speaker expresses a warning about the danger of eating the “wolf” berries, and in example 7a the speaker posits, setting the tone at the very beginning of the article, that ‘if you, the reader, decided to get a tattoo, you will be an outsider.’¹⁸

Generality in *Žinka*’s address is further proven by the use of *vy* forms. In most instances, the address is not the singular, respectful *vy*, as in *Jeva*, but rather the plural *vy*, which is equivalent to *žinky* ‘women.’ Consider the following:

9. *Otož, ljube žinoctvo, jakomoha dali vid samotnosti! Napyšit' lysta do "Kontaktu" j vidrazu vidčujete, ščo vaša žyttjeva aktyvnist' zrostaje! Xaj ščastyt' vam usim!* ‘And so, dear women, avoid loneliness at all costs! Write_{PL} a letter to “Contact” and you will immediately feel_{PL} that your_{PL} activeness in life is growing! Best of luck to all of you!’ (*Žinka*, 1998, no. 9: 27).

10. *Radijte, modnyci, z pojavy šče odnoho vysku mody, ščo zvet'sja paint. 'Rejoice_{PL}, fashionable women, about the appearance of one more fashion craze, which is called paint'* (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 6: 29).

The singular respectful *vy* is used exclusively in the context of makeup, fashion, or love advice:

18. *Žinka* also overtly protests against the use of familiar and direct *ty*. In the discussion of the language of Ukrainian television, the voice of *Žinka* states: (i) *A jakyj vidrazlyvyj sposib spilkuvannja tych samych vedučyx iz spivbesidnykamy! I jak často čujemo panibrats'ke 'ty', zvernene do znanyx i šanovnyx v narodi ljudej.* ‘And what a disgusting style of conversation by those very same show-hosts with their guests! How often do we hear the familiar “you” addressed to those who are famous and respected by people’ (*Žinka*, 1997, no. 8: 31).

11. *Trymajte čolovika v "lehkij pauzi." Viddaljajte i nablyžajte joho, dajučy zrozumity, ščo navrjad čy vin zmože pred" javyty na vas pravo vlasnosti.... Zabud'te (xoč na dejakyj čas), ščo vy rozumniša za čolovika.... Dlja peršoho pocilunku sami pidhotujte pidgruntjja.... Šepnit' na vuxo bud'-jake hlupstvo.... Zljakajtesja temnoho korydoru, myšky, muxy.... Pevno dosyt? Je kontakt?! Dali dijte na svij rozsud: vedit' "trofej" do zahsu abo šukajte novyj objekt. 'Hold_{PL} your man in a "light pause." Distance_{PL} and [then] draw_{PL} him nearer, letting him know that it is unlikely that he will be able to claim a right to you as his property.... Forget_{PL} (at least for a while) that you_{PL} are smarter_{FemSG} than your man.... For the first kiss, you yourself should prepare_{PL} the situation.... Whisper_{PL} any silly thing into his ear.... Be frightened_{PL} by a dark hallway, a mouse, or a fly.... Won't this be enough? Is there contact?! Then act_{PL} according to your own judgment: lead_{PL} your "trophy" to the marriage registry or look_{PL} for a new object' (Žinka, 1999, no. 5: 13).*

The language of Žinka distances itself from the reader even further with its frequent use of impersonal and indirect forms of address, the distribution of which equals a half of all address forms, at 50.5 percent (note that in Jeva similar constructions total only 8.4 percent).

12. ... perš niž ukoročuvaty, podovžuvaty, zvužuvaty [brovy], treba dobre podumaty j ne zipsuvaty toho, čym nadilya vas pryroda. '... before (you) shorten_{INF}, lengthen_{INF}, or thin out_{INF} your eyebrows, it is necessary to think_{INF} things through and not damage_{INF} that which nature has given you' (Žinka, 1999, no. 6: 16).

13. *Ne menš važlyvoju proceduroju je pravyl'ne očyščennja škiry. Robyty joho treba vvečeri.... Vmyvatysja najkrašče vodoju kimmatnoji temperatury.... Jakščo mylo podraznjuje škiranu, zastosovujut' losjony.... Možna takoz prychotuvaty zmyvku v domašních umovax. Dlja cioho vzjaty žyrnyj krem ... i zmišaty [joho] z oljeju.... Cju proceduru vykonujut' pisla očyščennja oblyčja. 'The correct cleansing of your face is a procedure no less important. It is necessary to do this in the evening. It is best to wash_{INF} your face with water at room temperature.... If the soap irritates your skin, use_{3PL} lotions.... It is also possible to prepare a [washing] mixture at home. For this, one needs to take_{INF} a rich cream ... and mix_{INF} it with oil.... This procedure is done_{3PL} after cleansing the face (Žinka, 1999, no. 1: 17).*

Infinitives and the impersonal *treba* 'it's necessary' constructions are present in both examples 12 and 13. The latter also uses *možna* 'it is possible/one

can' in conjunction with an infinitive and an indefinite third-person plural construction. All of these signal no direct interaction between the addresser and the addressee.

The above analysis confirms that the magazines interact differently with their readers and establish distinct relationships in terms of reciprocity and directness. The many particular differences outlined above between the language of the two magazines are susceptible to a general characterization. The forms of address in *Jeva* are reciprocal and direct, which, according to Brown and Gilman (1960), signal dynamism in a society. They indicate that "the reciprocal solidarity semantic¹⁹ has grown with social mobility and equalitarian ideology" (265). The forms of address found in *Žinka*, on the other hand, are non-reciprocal and indirect, signaling immobility, for "the non-reciprocal semantic is associated with a relatively static society" (Brown and Gilman 1960: 265). Thus, the forms of address outlined above mirror two distinct tendencies in the life of contemporary Ukrainian society projected by the magazines.

Systems of address are closely related to the representation of the author's position in the magazines (see footnote 17). In the language of *Jeva* the reader clearly sees the author's assertive position as 'I,' which is illustrated in (14):

14. *Dlja ditej pryrody pojasnju: kofi-bar v Amsterdami — ce misce, de pjut' kavu.* 'For the children of nature I'll explain_{1SG}: a coffee bar in Amsterdam is a place where people drink coffee'²⁰ (*Jeva*, Winter 1998–99: 95).

In *Žinka* the author's position is represented differently. It is collective and less authoritative. The author's voice is embodied in the 'we women' form, as in 15:

15. *A kožna z nas, žinok, nezaležno vid viku, osvity, virospoviduvannja xoče myru j spokoju, stabil'nosti j dobrobutu. Bo, ščo ne kažit', a my taky "stomylysja buty ne prekrasnymy."* 'And each of us women, regardless of age, education, [and] religion, wants peace and calm, stability, and well-being.

19. By "semantics" Brown and Gilman mean "the objective relationship existing between speaker and addressee" (1972: 252).

20. The authoritative and assertive position in *Jeva* is also strengthened by numerous expressions of opinion, such as *jak na mene* 'in my opinion', *meni zdajet'sia* 'it seems to me,' etc. Rather, *Žinka* uses the following: *vvažajet'sja* 'it is considered', *za zvyčaj* 'as usual', *usim vidomo* 'it is widely known', *kažut'* 'people say,' and so on.

Because, **say_{PL}** what you will, we really are tired of “not being beautiful”²¹ (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 6: 13).

The analysis of the authors’ positions in the two magazines, which is justified by text counts (see footnote 17), shows that the contrast between *Jeva*’s ‘I’ and *Žinka*’s ‘we’ positions is sound. It supports the analysis of the address systems, proving again the presence of direct dialogue in *Jeva* and generality and indirectness in *Žinka*. This, in fact, parallels *Jeva*’s dynamic and *Žinka*’s static natures outlined above.

Syntax

The patterns revealed in the lexis and the semantics of the dialogue between the magazines and their readers are largely reinforced by the choice of syntactic constructions. Table 3 summarizes syntactic patterns in *Jeva* and *Žinka*.

Table 3: Syntactic Differences

Syntax	<i>Jeva</i>	<i>Žinka</i>
<i>Word order</i>	SV(O)	V(O)S(O), O(S)V(S)
<i>Sentence types</i>	agentive constructions imperatives	impersonal infinitives questions exclamations
	affirmative	negative
<i>Tense</i>	present, future	past, present

It is generally believed that the unmarked or the most neutral word order in Ukrainian is subject-verb-(object) (SV[O]) and that, according to the grammatical tradition, the word order in Ukrainian is free. My contention is that even though the SV(O) sentence types may be the most numerous in a language (this statement still remains to be proved for Ukrainian), the other types of combining syntactic categories in a sentence carry particular meanings and signal specific messages in different discourse units.²² For the present

21. In some instances the author’s position is elliptic: (i) *Myru j zlahody, zdorov”ja j dobrobutu v kozhnu oselju!* ‘Peace and harmony, health, and well-being to each home!’ (*Žinka* 99/1: 1). Example (i) is reminiscent of old slogans with no clear message about whose position is stated and to whom it is addressed.

22. For the discussion of word order and its discourse function in Russian, see Yokoyama (1986).

analysis, the text count was based on 560 sentences in the 7,888-word corpus of *Žinka* and 434 sentences in the 7,132-word corpus of *Jeva*.

The frequency count demonstrates that the most frequent word order of syntactic constructions in *Jeva* is subject-initial: the SV(O) occurs in 59.9 percent of the analyzed sentences, whereas in *Žinka* it occurs in 37.5 percent of them (note that unfinished and phraselike sentences constitute 18.45 percent in *Jeva* and 21.8 percent in *Žinka*, but these are not included in the discussion).

Jeva's SV(O) type is represented by the following examples:

16. *Publika_s teplo vitala_v aplodysmentamy učasnykiv_O*. 'The public_s warmly welcomed_v the participants_O with applause' (*Jeva*, Fall 1998: 130).
17. *Žurnal "Jeva"_s ... tradycijno nahorodiv_v odnoho z učasnykiv konkursu svojim special'nym pryzom_O*. 'Jeva magazine_s traditionally rewarded_v one of the competition participants with a special prize_O' (*Jeva*, Summer 1999: 10).

Both examples 16 and 17 display subject-initial constructions. This choice of agentive constructions with SV(O) word order in *Jeva* prompts the expression of subjectivity with an orientation often towards a person. Most of the SVO constructions in *Jeva* are affirmative and indicative sentences stressing certainty while avoiding negativity and open-endedness. Several imperatives found here, with the positive message "you can do it," further prove *Jeva*'s direct interaction with the reader (see examples 2 and 3 above).

Sentence types in *Žinka* are different. The preferred word order is subject non-initial (40.7 percent); that is, verb-(object)-subject-(object) (21.4 percent) or object-(subject)-verb-(subject) (19.3 percent). Note that in *Jeva* subject non-initial constructions constitute 21.65 percent: verb-initial 8.75 percent and object-initial 12.9 percent. Consider the following three examples of subject non-initial constructions from *Žinka*:

18. *Peršu medyčnu dopomohu_O nadaje_v mama_s abo bat'ko_s*. 'The first medical aid_O is given_v by a mother_s or a father_s' (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 1: 16).
19. *Spryčynyla_v cju deščo nespodivanu superečku_O vrodlyva molodycja_s*. 'This somewhat unexpected conflict_O was started_v by a pretty young woman_s' (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 5: 1).
20. *Cej lyst_O mys pokazaly_v doktoru medyčnyx nauk*. 'We_s showed_v this letter_O to a doctor of medical sciences' (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 5: 16).

The avoidance of subject-initial sentences in *Žinka*, as in examples 18–20, indicates a strong tendency towards objectivity and impersonality. This is also reinforced by several impersonal (16 percent) and infinitival (24.3 percent) con-

structions (see also the discussion of the semantics of dialogue in the previous section):

21. *Jix_o tež zaprošeno_v do školy modelinhu.* 'They_o were also invited_v to the modelling school' (Žinka, 1999, no. 1: 13).
22. *Cjoho roku bulo obrano_v najvrodlyvišu divčynu_o SND.* 'This year the prettiest young woman_o of the CIS was chosen_v' (Žinka, 1999, no. 5: 12).
23. *V unikal'ni^j laboratoriji snu provely_v eksperiment_o na tysači pacientax.* 'In the unique sleep laboratory an experiment_o was carried out_{v3PL} on a thousand patients' (Žinka, 1998, no. 9: 28).

Examples 21–22 use the impersonal -no/-to constructions, and example 23 presents a third-person plural indefinite. The use of such constructions signals avoidance of direct and personal narration and emphasizes statality rather than actionality. In *Jeva* both the impersonals and infinitives are less numerous: 11.4 and 13.3 percent respectively.

Furthermore, the language of Žinka frequently displays negative structures (22.3 percent in Žinka vs. 15.9 percent in *Jeva*), such as examples 24–26:

24. *Zrozumilo, pokladaty nadiji, ščo himnastyka dopomože zdobuty slavu Merlin Monroe, ne varto.* 'Of course, to hope that gymnastics will help you to gain the [same] fame as Marilyn Monroe is not realistic' (Žinka, 1998, no. 9: 25).
25. *A zaraz — pro prykrošči. Na žal', bez nyx žyttja ne buvaje.* 'And now about regrets. Unfortunately, life does not exist without them' (Žinka, 1998, no. 9: 18).
26. *Ja ničoho nide ne možu dobytysja, bo v mene nemaje hrošej.* 'I can't achieve anything_{NEG} anywhere_{NEG} because I don't have money' (Žinka, 1998, no. 9: 23).

Example 24 is an infinitival negative. Example 25, lacking a subject in both parts, is also a negative. Example 26 has four negatives. Interestingly, both 24 and 25 are impersonal sentences, which are frequent in Žinka, as I have shown.

Moreover, several negative constructions found in Žinka are imperatives with the message "don't do it." For example:

27. *Ni v jakomu razi ne zapyvajte tabletky čajem!* 'Don't ever down pills with tea' (Žinka, 1998, no. 9: 15).
28. *Ne padajte duxom.* 'Don't be discouraged' (Žinka, 1998, no. 9: 23).

The negativity found in *Žinka* is extended by the use of numerous open-ended questions (17.14 percent in *Žinka* vs. 6.5 percent in *Jeva*), as in examples 29–31:

29. *Ščo robyty v takyx vypadkax, de šukaty vyxid? Psyxolohy radjat' ne vpadaty u vidčaj. 'What is one to do in such cases, where is one to look for solutions? Psychologists advise people not to fall into despair'* (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 6: 2).

30. *Kudy vtekty vid čolovika? 'Where can one escape from one's husband?'* (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 6: 3).

31. *Jaki idealy navjazujut' molodym? Zhadajmo konkurs 'Mister roku.' Jakym postaje z ekrana sučasnyj junak?... A sučasna divčyna? 'What ideals are thrust upon young people? Let us recall the "Mister of the Year" competition. How is a contemporary young man depicted on the [TV] screen?... And a contemporary young woman?'* (*Žinka*, 1997, no. 8: 31).

Examples 29–31 are tempered by expressions of uncertainty and possibility, with questions, "What to do? What is to be done?" Most such questions are posed but receive no answer. *Žinka* invites the reader to formulate an answer on her own or simply to leave the question open. This voice in *Žinka* signals its indecision and instability.

The open-endedness in the syntax of *Žinka* is confirmed by several exclamatory constructions (4.3 percent in *Žinka* vs. 2.8 percent in *Jeva*), such as

32. *Zdorov"ja vašomu domu! 'Health to your home!'* (*Žinka*, 1997, no. 8: 29)

33. *Xaj cvitut' pivoniji na radist' ljudjam! 'May peonies bloom [to give] people joy!'* (*Žinka*, 1997, no. 8: 28).

These exclamatory constructions signal *Žinka*'s wishful thinking, with no clear directions about how to get there.²³

Another difference marked by the language of the two magazines is in the use of tense. *Jeva* is written predominantly in the present (22.2 percent) and past (29 percent) tenses, but the future tense also occurs frequently (19.7 percent). *Žinka*, on the other hand, uses mainly the past tense (41.7 percent) and uses the present (17.5 percent) and future (9.2 percent) tenses less often. (Note that both magazines use the past tense in recounting particular events; this is common in several genres in the media.) Consider these examples from *Jeva*:

23. *Žinka* differs from *Jeva* by its frequent use of ellipses at the end of a sentence, further signalling its open-endedness: 7.5 percent vs. 1.6 percent respectively.

34. *Prokonsul'tujtes' zi svojim kosmetolohom — i vpered do idealu.* 'Consult_{FUT} your cosmetologist — and go forward toward your ideal' (Jeva, Summer 1999: 110).

35. *Jak bačymo, zarano še hovoryty pro povnu rivnopravnist' i parytet možlyvostej: na peršomu misci problema sumiščennja tradycijnoji roli žinky-berehyni vsiljakyx vohnyšč i prahnennja do samorealizaciji v profesijnomu plani. Ale pryjemno, ščo svit krokujе u pravyl'nomu naprjamku.*

'As we see_{PRES}, it's too early to talk about total equality and the parity of opportunities; the primary problem is the compatibility of the traditional role of the woman-guardian of various hearths and the desire for self-realization in the professional world. But it is pleasant that the world is stepping in the right direction_{PRES(FUT)}' (Jeva, Spring 1999: 88).

The use of tense in example 34 orients the passage towards the future. Example 35 illustrates the use of the present tense, but the content reinforces a positive direction into the future. In comparison, the text in *Žinka* rarely discusses only the future. In cases in which the present or future are used, some reference to the past is usually found:

36. *Peršyj Vseukrajins'kyj žinočyyj konhres vidijšov u mynule i vže stav isto-rijeju. Jakym bude druhij, nastupnyj? Podbajmo ž pro ce vže teper.* 'The First All-Ukrainian Women's Congress has moved into the past and has already become_{PAST history}. What will_{FUT} the second one, the next one, be like? Let's try_{PRES?FUT} to take care of this now' (*Žinka*, 1998, no. 9: 15).

37. *Nadovho zapav u pamjat' dzvinkyj bahatoholosyj xor "Berehyni," žarty baby Šury pro naše žyttja i ščyryj smikh žinok.* 'The ringing multi-voiced choir Berehynia, granny Shura's jokes about our life, and the sincere laughter of women registered_{PAST} in our memory for a long time' (*Žinka*, 1999, no. 1: 5).

Example 36 refers to a congress that took place in the past; the future reference is rendered in the form of a question, "What will the next one be like?" rather than "such and such issues will be brought up at the next congress." It is continued with an open imperative "let's think about this now," but with no clear delineation of where to start. Example 37, about a women's conference organized by *Žinka*, also refers to the past, the "choir ... registered in our memory," and does not predict that the choir will be remembered. Thus the difference in the two magazine's use of tenses coincides with the dynamic/new/subjective (present and future tense in *Jeva*) versus the static/traditional/objective (past and present tenses in *Žinka*) distinction between them.

Syntactic features, albeit analyzed succinctly, suggest that differences in sentence structure, as well as the choice of sentence types and tenses, make evident an opposition that is manifested throughout the language of the magazines. The assertive, affirmative, and subjective syntactic constructions of *Jeva* further contribute to its dynamic orientation. The syntax of *Žinka* is static: it expresses uncertainty, wishful thinking, and avoidance of direct contact with the reader.²⁴

Language and Femininities in Ukraine

I have presented systematic differences in the language of two contemporary Ukrainian women's magazines. In order to explore the significance of these differences, I shall use the influential socio-semantic theory of coding orientation developed by Basil Bernstein (1970, 1986, 1990). According to him, "the form of social relation regulates the options that speakers take up at both syntactic and lexical levels" (1986: 473).²⁵ Bernstein outlines two fundamental types of communication codes: elaborated and restricted.

[E]laborated codes orient their users towards universalistic meanings, whereas restricted codes orient, sensitize, their users to particularistic meanings:... the linguistic-realization of the two orders are different, and so are the social relationships which realize them. Elaborated codes are less tied to a given or local structure and thus contain the potentiality of change in principles.... Restricted codes are more tied to a local social structure and have a reduced potential for change in principles. (Bernstein 1970: 164)

According to Bernstein, two different codings are also distinct in terms of newness of meaning; that is, "novel meanings are likely to be encouraged and a complex conceptual order explored" (1986: 478) in an elaborated

24. The language of *Žinka* and *Jeva* differ also with respect to the text's discourse organization. In particular, factors such as topic introduction and topic shift, as well as the distribution of background and foreground information, support further polarization in the magazines' language. The paragraph structure in *Žinka* tends to be cyclic, with the information unfolding within questions, exclamations and constructions of "hope," which are involved in topic introduction and topic shift. In 52 topical units analyzed, 16 topics or 30.8 percent were introduced with questions and exclamations (cf. with *Jeva*, in which topic introductions with questions and exclamations constitute 9.3 percent, or 4 occurrences in 43 topical units analyzed). In *Jeva* there is a tendency to begin narration with the foreground information, and topic introductions and shifts are achieved via indicative constructions. *Jeva*'s discourse-organization patterns parallel the discussion of syntactic differences above.

25. In this article Bernstein's options are extended to the levels of semantics (and possibly of discourse; see footnote 27).

code.²⁶ Restricted coding discourages novelty, “verbal meanings are likely to be assigned,” and “the individual steps into the meaning system and leaves it relatively undisturbed” (1986: 478). This dichotomy is confirmed by the analysis of lexical choices in the language of *Jeva* and *Žinka*. It was shown that *Jeva* encourages innovations, whereas *Žinka* remains within the boundaries of the traditional lexicon. An elaborated code tends also to be characterized by the great lexical differentiation of certain semantic fields, and this differentiation is manifested in the language of *Jeva* (foreign, slang, new, and prestigious lexis).

Furthermore, Bernstein notes that a restricted code will arise where the form of social relations is characterized by shared identifications and expectations, and by common assumptions (1986: 476). “Thus a restricted code emerges where the culture or subculture raises the ‘we’ above ‘I’” (1986: 476). The emphasis on ‘we’ is seen in the language of *Žinka*, which is characteristic of a restricted code and does not give rise to verbally differentiated ‘I’s. Moreover, the restricted code of *Žinka* “creates the possibility for the transmission of communalized symbols” (1986: 477) rather than the transmission of individual symbols. The dominance of ‘I’ over ‘we’ was shown to be overt in the language of *Jeva*, thus suggesting its elaborated code.

The discussion of syntactic constructions found the language of *Jeva* to be characterized by an orientation toward the individual. It differentiated the individual from others and clearly emphasized subjectivity. According to Bernstein’s theory, this corresponds to the elaborated code. In contrast, the language in *Žinka* is marked by objectivity. Its impersonality points to restricted coding.²⁷

Moreover, the dynamic and active facets of the language in *Jeva* fit Bernstein’s notion of the “personal” orientation characterized by openness,

26. Bernstein also discusses the differences in the type of social roles realized through two codings within open and closed role systems. See 1986: 477.

27. Bernstein’s socio-semantic theory deals primarily with lexis and syntax; however, it can also be extended to the level of discourse. Bernstein (1986: 476) posits that linguistic exchange of a restricted code is based on shared identifications and transmits intentions, purposes, and discrete meanings rather than specific and explicit meanings as in an elaborated code. Discourse analysis (see footnote 24) based on topic introduction and topic shift may support further differences in the coding of *Jeva* and *Žinka*. In *Žinka* the marking of both topic introduction and topic shift with questions, exclamations, and constructions of “hope” signals intentionality and discreteness with no elaboration of possible answers. This indicates its restricted orientation. *Jeva*, on the other hand, by introducing and shifting topics with assertive indicative constructions, demonstrates progress, specificity, and explicitness in narration and thus in elaboration.

broadness, and the availability of alternatives. In contrast, the non-dynamic and tightly bound dimensions of Žinka are related to Bernstein's notion of the "positional" orientation, marked by non-negotiability, clear boundaries, non-reciprocity, and avoidance of change (1986: 482–4). In addition, as I have shown, the dialogue instantiated in *Jeva* demonstrates reciprocity, which is another characteristic of the "personal" orientation. Žinka's lack of reciprocity is correlated with its "positional" orientation, which tends to be unilateral (1986: 483).²⁸

The analysis above leads me to conclude that *Jeva* is identified through its language with an elaborated code symbolizing an individual-based culture, whereas Žinka relies on a restricted code symbolizing a community-based culture. The important corollary of this is that the different coding orientations, which project contrasting notions of femininity, predispose the readers of the magazines to group and interpret their experiences differently.

The elaborated code present in *Jeva* transmits the picture of a new, emancipated (this is debatable), progressive, authoritative, active woman as an individual, a woman who is constantly compared to other women (mostly of the Žinka type), cares more for herself and less for others (i.e., children and men), and knows how to take care of herself.²⁹ Žinka, by contrast, through its use of a restricted code, presents a woman who is part of a larger

28. Bernstein analyzes "positional" and "personal" orientations in models of families and distinguishes between "positional" and "person-oriented" families. He also relates this distinction to closed communication systems, which have restricted coding, and open systems, which have elaborated coding. For details, see Bernstein 1986.

29. The editor of *Jeva* stated that "the credo of the magazine is to tell women everything that is most modern, most fashionable, [and] most interesting in the world, even if it isn't or never will be in Ukraine, so that our women do not feel provincial and inferior." This picture of *Jeva*'s femininity is manifest in the magazine:

1. *[M]y, vyšukani žinky, teper myslymo hlobal'nišymy masštabamy, niž desjat' ta navit' pjat' rokiv tomu. Vidpovidno j interesy u nas na porjadok vyšči.* '[W]e, exceptional women, now think along more global lines than ten or even five years ago. Accordingly, our interests are also of a higher level' (*Jeva*, Spring 1999: 88). (Let me note that the article in which this statement occurs is about issues of concern for women around the world, thus *my 'we'* is used in a global sense as 'we, women of the world'.)
2. *Han'ba našij zakompleksovanosti!* 'Shame on our conservativeness!'
3. *Vidpočynok bez ditej!* 'A holiday without children!'
4. *Vy prybablyva, emansypovana.* 'You are attractive and emancipated.'
5. *Ne soromtes!* 'Don't be ashamed!'

What is also interesting is that *Jeva*'s readers describe the magazine's language overtly as lively and fashionable in their letters to editor:

6. *Pryjemno čytaty žurnal, čyja mova žyva i styl' na.* 'It is a pleasure to read a magazine whose language is lively and fashionable' (*Jeva*, Summer 1999: 4).

and static patriarchal community, a woman who is traditional, conservative, and accepting of life's problems: a housewife, a caring mother, a devoted grandmother, a Cinderella, a woman without a clear vision of the future, a woman preoccupied with unanswered questions such as *Jak dali žyty?* 'How to go on?' and *Xto zamiž viz'me?* 'Who will marry me?'³⁰

What is evident from this analysis is that there is a direct correlation between the message presented in popular magazines and the two codes of language.

Conclusion

This analysis demonstrates that the language of each of the two magazines is remarkably consistent in terms of the coding orientation. Lexical, semantic, and syntactic patterns show a direct correlation with either restricted or elaborated coding. The language of *Žinka* is consistent with the restricted coding and projects a communal and static femininity within a traditional patriarchal environment. The language of *Jeva* is associated with elaborated coding and presents an individualistic and dynamic femininity, which unfolds within a female community. Thus, through language loaded with a particular coding, the two magazines instantiate polarized femininities in contemporary Ukrainian society.³¹ I have raised these hitherto unstudied issues in the hope about stimulating further discussion of them.

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30. According to the editor, the goal of *Žinka* is "to teach women that family prosperity, welfare, and happiness must be created by oneself. The children are better off when there is harmony in the family. In general, the magazine wants women to excel as mothers and professionals. Authority in the family is primary."

31. The present study analyzes one written form of the language and limits itself to one journalistic genre. An investigation of other areas of language use (in the vernacular, in belles lettres, and so on) and a controlled demographic study of the data would be fruitful. In particular, information about the magazines' buyers and readers could shed some light on whether there is a correlation between social classes and coding orientations.

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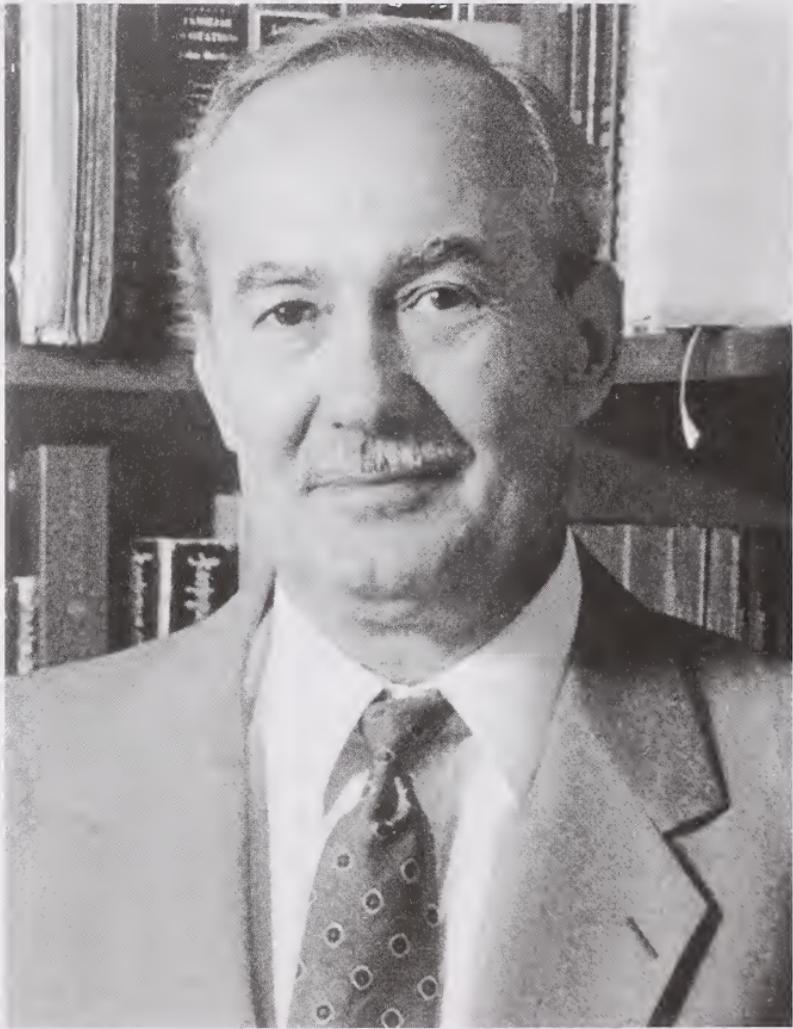
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Book Reviews

Vasyl Khoma. *Rozvytok rusynskoi poezii v Slovachchyni vid 20-kh do 90-kh rokiv XX stolittia (Narys istorii z portretamy poetiv)*. Bratislava: Vydatnytstvo Spilky slovatskykh pysmennykiv, 2000. 496 pp.

Until the beginning of the 1990s the lecturer Vasyl Khoma was one of the most productive critics of Ukrainian literature in Slovakia, and he had a considerable influence on its development. Besides writing critical literary articles, he also reviewed many of the Ukrainian books published in Slovakia, actively participated in conferences and seminars devoted to Ukrainian literature in Slovakia, spoke out at meetings of the Ukrainian branch of the Union of Slovak Writers, and so forth. As a philologist specializing in the Russian language, Khoma had a relatively strong grasp of literary Ukrainian and employed it in writing scholarly and critical works about Ukrainian literature in Slovakia, a literature that in 1989 he still considered to be Ukrainian. A fine example of this is the paper he delivered at a seminar on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the journal *Duklia*. The paper was titled “Ukrainian Poetry of Czechoslovakia since the Triumphant February of 1948” and began with the words “Forty years of development of *Ukrainian literature* in Czechoslovakia in the conditions of a free socialist Fatherland signifies a new epoch in the creative growth of all our literature” (*Duklia*, 1989, no. 1: 38).

Thus, on the basis of this speech and numerous works written before 1989 and even later about the work of our writers, one can conclude that Khoma supported the Ukrainian position with regard to the national orientation of our people, literature, and culture. It is possible, however, that even then he was of a different mind, but as a servant of the partocracy he was forced to support the official party line. Otherwise it is hard to explain the sudden and radical change in his national orientation after 1989 and his ultimate switch to the Rusyn position at the end of the 1990s. He made a public declaration about his return to his roots in a speech he gave at the first folklore festival in Chmel’ová, where, among other things, he said (in Rusyn): “Every person, every living thing that is self-aware, can identify itself with that which is close, native, and familial since birth and that which has been in his blood” (see “Vertaime sia ku svoim koriniam,” *Narodny novinky*, 2000, nos. 39–40). The problem, however, is not that Khoma has returned to his roots, to the traditions of his ancestors, and realized that his native language is Rusyn, because after the “velvet” revolution many, as the Slovaks say, changed colour. Rather, to use his own words in reference to Mykhailo Roman, he lost his memory, forgot who he had been until 1989, and began contradicting what he had said before.

In his monograph Khoma investigates the work of nineteen Ukrainian poets who lived in eastern Slovakia, beginning with Zoreslav and ending with Petro Gula. For the

most part, Khoma gives a thematic analysis of the work of poets about whom he had published critical reviews and essays before 1989 in Ukrainian journals and collections, primarily in *Duklia*. This is his explanation of the fact that his monograph appears in Ukrainian, although it is intended primarily for the Rusyn reading public, which does not understand Ukrainian and for that reason stubbornly demands that Ukrainian radio programmes be switched to Rusyn. I believe, however, that Khoma understood that writing literary criticism in the Rusyn language, which at present is no more than a hodge podge of a few different dialects, would be no easy task. This is why he wrote only the abstract in a language that is a mixture of dialecticisms, Russianisms, and Slovakisms, supplemented with Slovak syntactical constructions. It reminds me of *iazychie*, which the Rusyn intelligentsia used in the nineteenth century.

With regard to his analyses of the poetic works, Khoma has taken the position of the all-knowing and irreproachable critic who seems not to have been connected in any way with that Marxist-Leninist dogma that deformed the literary and cultural life in Czechoslovakia after 1945. And yet everyone knows that at that time Khoma held several high positions, such as deputy minister of culture in Slovakia, diplomat, ministerial adviser, and employee of the Slovak National Council. As a member of the nomenklatura, he took a direct or indirect part in implementing the Party's dogmas. Thus, one is astounded by his radical and uncompromising criticism of the totalitarian system of Czechoslovakia and its "monochromatic bureaucratic-political orientation in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism," the very system that enabled Khoma, a poor peasant boy from Miková, to attain the highest level of education and hold important government positions.

In his monograph Khoma analyzes the poetic works of almost all the Ukrainian poets of Czechoslovakia from the 1920s to the 1990s, describes the path of their artistic growth, and outlines their achievements and failures. In his analysis of literary phenomena he proves himself to be an erudite critic, evaluating through the prism of aesthetic categories and his own experience the work of each poet and detecting its most distinctive traits. But his analysis and evaluation of the work of certain poets is geared towards one goal—to prove that the Ukrainian poetry of Slovakia is in spirit and inner meaning Rusyn poetry and that the Ukrainian poets, although they wrote in Ukrainian, were in fact always Rusyns. Furthermore, Khoma delights in the fact that a significant number of Ukrainian poets and prose writers have switched to writing in Rusyn and demonstrated that they are thus better able to reflect the life of their ethnic group. It appears that the Ukrainian language is incapable of articulating the Rusyn spirit and reflecting the psychology, way of life and thought, habits and customs, and Central European mentality of the Rusyn people. Is it really hard to express the mentality of the Rusyns of Slovakia in Ukrainian? Is this mentality really so complex and distinctive that a special language with a vocabulary that fits into a small orthographic dictionary must be created to express it?

In attempting to read the works of the Ukrainian poets of Slovakia, especially the poets of the older generation, in a new way, Khoma often, and at times groundlessly, reproaches the authors for schematism, dogmatism, triteness, glorifying socialist society, serving the partocracy, and other "sins" in their works of the 1950s. In his time Borys Hrinchenko said that "we have the right to judge epochs from our point of view, but we should judge people from the point of view of the epoch in which they lived." In other words, literary works should be evaluated from a concrete historical perspective; that is, they should be evaluated within the context of their period, by the author's and reader's

level of culture, or by their capacity for an adequate (or inadequate) understanding of literary and artistic phenomena. In this sense, the 1950s was a time when, according to Illia Halaida, we were drunk with victory, and I should add that because of the enormous changes taking place in our region, we did not reflect on the deformations that accompanied those changes. Therefore it is understandable why our poets, more so than Slovak or Czech poets, glorified the building of socialism and failed to realize that they were succumbing to dogmatism, schematism, and triteness. Simply put, they wrote as best they could about what they saw and felt. Furthermore, almost none of them were capable of writing associative-metaphorical poetry, which was written only by Stepan Hostyniak, Iosyf Zbihlei, Mykhailo Drobniak, and others and was meant—in Dmytro Pavlychko's words about the Slovak poet M. Valko—for solitary reading, not for public recitation. The same can be said about our readers, who had not been prepared to receive such poetry. For this reason contests of poetic recitation rarely included poems of an associative-metaphorical character.

In his survey articles Khoma devotes much attention to the changes in the national orientation of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of the Prešov region at the beginning of the 1950s; the introduction of the Ukrainian language into our press, radio, publishing, and schools; the publishing of populist writers; the prospects for the development of Rusyn literature; and so forth. I agree with Khoma's claim that our people's conversion to a Ukrainian national orientation (as well as to Orthodoxy and collective farming) came about through administrative methods. But I cannot agree with the claim that "the Ukrainianization of the postwar period, the mostly administrative-bureaucratic introduction of Ukrainian as the language of instruction in Rusyn schools and as the language of the press and radio, was an arbitrary act of the Communist regime against the Rusyns." I personally believe that Ukrainianization was the best, scientifically grounded attempt at solving the question of national determination of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of eastern Slovakia and at overcoming their linguistic confusion. It is true that for a variety of objective and mainly subjective reasons, some of which are mentioned by Khoma, Ukrainianization failed to take full effect and to give the desired results. And yet in less than five decades Ukrainianization did produce a bountiful harvest: a large number of intelligentsia educated in various Ukrainian schools, hundreds of amateur groups, dozens of festivals and various contests, thousands of textbooks, scholarly, and literary works, and almost fifty volumes of the journals *Nove zhyttia*, *Druzhno vpered*, *Duklia*, and *Veselka*. Further evidence of this is Khoma's almost 400-page monograph.

It can be said without exaggeration that our national minority has achieved more in less than fifty years than in all the preceding centuries. I am sure that these accomplishments would have been even greater had we taken advantage of all the available opportunities, had no Slovak-Ukrainian intelligentsia switched to Rusyn positions after 1989 and attempted to revive Rusyn identity by whatever means without realizing that a return to Rusynism is a step towards full assimilation.

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Volodymyr Fisanov. *Prohrane supernytstvo: SShA ta Avstro-Uhorshchyna u Tsentralnii Ievropi v roky Pershoi svitovoi viiny*. Chernivtsi: Zoloti lytavry, 1999. 264 pp.

Fisanov's monograph examines the diplomatic history of the First World War. It is the first work by a Ukrainian historian on the final years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the context of American policy on Central and Eastern Europe.

There are several reasons why the author addresses this topic. First, the events from 1914 to 1918 occupied an important place in Soviet historiography, which was marred by the influence of Marxist ideology. "Wilsonism," for example, was described by Soviet scholars as "bourgeois national-liberalism" and a combination of "aggression and reform" (*Istoriia SShA*, vol. 3 [Moscow: Nauka, 1985], 55). The American president himself was regarded as a defender of democratic capitalism (Z. M. Gershov, *Vudro Vilson* [Moscow: Mysl, 1983], 314). The American programme for Central and Eastern Europe was contrasted with the Leninist model of national self-determination (I. S. Iazhborovskaia, "Osobennosti revoliutsionnogo protsessa v stranakh Tsentralnoi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Ievropy," *O revoliutsiiakh 1918 goda v Ievrope: Materialy nauchnoi sessii IMRD* [Moscow: IMRD, 1979], 50). Secondly, Soviet scholarship barely examined the consequences of the Great War in a wider context. Researchers practically ignored the interconnection between internal and external factors in the dissolution of the European empires and the search for socio-political forms that would ensure stable states in Europe and a lasting international system.

The main questions that Fisanov investigates are the development of Austro-American relations from 1914 to 1919, when the United States declared war on Austria-Hungary; Washington's mediation in the secret negotiations between the Entente and Austria-Hungary aimed at concluding a separate peace; the national problem in the Habsburg empire as an important factor in American foreign policy; American peace initiatives and the American peace programme for Central and Eastern Europe in 1918; and the impact of the Austro-Hungarian contribution to the Paris Peace Conference on President Woodrow Wilson's European policy. The book's secondary topics include the Polish and the Russian questions, which are an indispensable part of the historical background (pp. 5–6).

The author's methodological approach is of considerable interest. He rejects the one-line causal approach for a multi-vectored analysis of possible alternative developments of events. In this context it is perfectly natural to doubt that the fall of the Habsburg empire was inevitable. According to Fisanov, more internal factors favoured the empire's preservation and transformation than its dissolution: it had a consolidated elite, a partly unified territory, an idea of Austria-Hungary that was widely accepted, and had avoided a sharp exacerbation of the nationality question (pp. 38–40). External conditions did not pose any fundamental obstacle to the further development of the empire (pp. 8–9).

Yet, the structure and the ideological foundations of the Habsburg empire contained the preconditions for its dissolution. The author points out that the lack of a unifying universal idea and integrative stereotypes that are characteristic of well-unified empires was an important factor in Austria-Hungary's disintegration. This factor by itself could

not have undermined one of the largest empires in Europe: defeat in war was a necessary cause of its downfall (p. 9).

At the beginning of the war most of the Entente members and the United States were not interested in the disintegration of the Danubian monarchy, but rather in its transformation from an absolutist state into a federation (pp. 10, 51, 54, 67, 77). In its turn Austrian diplomacy made extraordinary efforts to convince the allies that the Austro-Hungarian Empire had to be preserved to guarantee the stability of south central Europe. Otherwise there would be permanent anarchy in the region (pp. 55–6, 60–1). On the whole the American government agreed with this approach. In February 1917 it began mediating efforts to launch separate negotiations. To achieve this it even agreed to guarantee the status of Austria-Hungary after the war. But the Entente failed to provide clear-cut assurances that Bohemia and Moravia would not separate, and this made it impossible to reach a positive result (pp. 63–6). Thus the United States was forced to consider the question of entering the war. In Fisanov's opinion, Congress's decision to declare war on Austria-Hungary was greatly influenced by information that Austrian military units had appeared on the Western Front (p. 78).

Even after declaring war on 7 December 1917, the United States made a distinction between Austria-Hungary and Germany and did not foreclose the possibility of friendly relations with the former. By the end of the year American diplomacy was focussed on preparing a postwar peace programme, in which the most complex question was the future shape of the Habsburg empire. Most of the experts and, eventually, the American president himself favoured a federation with the broadest autonomy for the constituent nations within the boundaries of the existing state. Fisanov carries out a detailed textual analysis of ten of the "fourteen points" and shows that American diplomacy was preparing for various outcomes. The points were formulated so as to allow a broad interpretation that would satisfy both Vienna and the advocates of separation (pp. 88–94).

In the spring of 1918 the American administration made one more attempt at initiating separate negotiations, but it failed to overcome disputes over the postwar territorial partitions. Therefore that summer the American position began to evolve gradually toward supporting the self-determination of the nations inhabiting the Habsburg empire. The United States' Austro-Hungarian strategy began to change into a Central European strategy (pp. 108–10).

Events in the former Russian Empire were another factor that influenced this change in strategy. Petrograd's moderate position on the future Austria-Hungary, which was shared by its allies, changed radically when the Bolsheviks seized power. The separate Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, concluded in the winter of 1918, forced the Americans to define their views on the postwar order quickly, since the Central Powers had just formed a buffer zone between themselves and Russia in order to regroup their forces and redeploy them on the Western Front.

In this situation Germany and her allies attributed great importance to Ukraine: they attempted to neutralize Russia and, at the same time, exploit the Ukrainian national movement in their own geopolitical interests by setting up and supporting a puppet state. After signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on 9 February 1918, the Central Rada found itself in a difficult situation: on the one hand, its military weakness could not prevent the Germans from controlling Ukraine, and on the other, the treaty was seen as a direct challenge to the Entente (p. 133). According to Fisanov, attempts to play up the

contradictions between the Germans and the Bolsheviks significantly diminished the prospects for Ukrainian statehood (pp. 134–5).

The leaders of the Entente and the United States understood the Central Rada's predicament and political manoeuvres, but showed no special interest in the Ukrainian question. At the same time they became increasingly interested in the future of Austria-Hungary. Woodrow Wilson's administration began to scrutinize the leaders of the various nationalities in the empire, particularly Tomáš Masaryk, the leader of the Czech emigration. Influenced by these leaders, the American president leaned more and more toward supporting the independence of a number of territories belonging to Austria-Hungary (p. 158). By October 1918, when the Danubian monarchy had actually disintegrated, the American government recognized the national demands of the Czechoslovaks and the Yugoslavs (p. 161). Thus the issue was the "controlled" dismemberment of the empire, that is, national demands were to be taken into account without meeting the demands of the small nations.

After the capitulation of the Central Powers in November 1918, a new situation emerged in Europe. The time had come to divide the property of the vanquished. In these conditions American strategy was motivated not by territorial greed, but by the "moral satisfaction" of serving the "new principle of liberty in the world," which led to frequent disagreements and quarrels among the allies (pp. 171–2). At the Paris Peace Conference, Woodrow Wilson, taking this principle as his point of departure, championed Yugoslavia in her dispute with Italy over some sections of the Adriatic coast (pp. 183–7). The United States also supported the inclusion of German Bohemia and Moravia in the Czechoslovak federation (188–91). As to the Ukrainian question, the United States insisted on removing a number of territories from Bolshevik Russia's sphere of influence and approved the annexation of Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna by Poland and Romania respectively (pp. 195–6).

Fisanov's study ends with an assessment of Austria-Hungary as a geopolitical experiment in the broad context of the rise, existence, and demise of states and suprastates. In his opinion, the empire's distinctive feature was that it emerged and took shape in a constant struggle against the Ottoman, Russian, and German empires. By the beginning of the twentieth century Austria-Hungary had lost its geopolitical importance as a unified, powerful state supporting the status quo (pp. 202–3). That large, culturally divided state could not resist division and fell victim to dynamic geopolitical combinations. Austria-Hungary was not the only loser at the end of the war: the United States also lost by failing to achieve a democratic peace. Fisanov concludes that both contestants lost (p. 213).

The legacy of the Danubian monarchy, however, did not fade into oblivion: in one way or another it was reflected in the European integrative processes of the late twentieth century. In addition, the phenomenon of Austrian culture outlasted the empire. The author believes that the "paradox lay in the fact that with the demise of the monarchy the informational-cultural field seemed to persist, influencing literature, art, and science not only in Central Europe, but also in the cultural realm of the Western world" (p. 4).

In recognizing the originality of Fisanov's conclusions, generalizations, and methodology, one should point out that he writes in a fine, accessible style. Every chapter reads like a complete unit. His thoughtfully selected illustrative material not only supplements the text, but also testifies to the author's sense of humour.

I must point out a number of shortcomings that do not affect the general quality of the monograph. The first part of the introduction is not entirely successful. In my opinion, the first two paragraphs of chapter two (p. 37) would have been a better beginning. The book also lacks an analysis of the domestic conditions in which the American position on the future of the Habsburg empire was formed. The competition among the various positions within the American political elite, particularly from 1914 to 1916, is not adequately presented. At times I sensed a certain lack of logic in the exposition, a mosaiclike collection of materials. The book is overloaded with facts that could have been safely omitted.

Nonetheless, Fisanov's study is a notable contribution to the diplomatic history of the First World War and to Ukrainian historical research.

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Ewa M. Thompson. *Imperial Knowledge: Russian Literature and Colonialism. Contributions to the Study of World Literature*, no. 99. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000. viii, 239 pp.

In the wake of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) Western literary scholarship added to its repertoire of queries that might be directed at a text the question of whether and how that text resisted, or collaborated with, the West's colonial domination of the non-Western world. Other relationships between the colonizer and the colonized, including the relationships between Russian culture and the cultures of the lands conquered or dominated by Russia, were less successful in attracting the attention of post-colonial criticism. It is this asymmetry that Ewa Thompson's book addresses in full awareness of the weight of the cultural and scholarly habit that it challenges.

A forceful introduction and first chapter set forth propositions with few precedents in the discourse of Russian philology, and almost as few in Western discourses about Russia: that Russia was, and remains in the post-Soviet period, a colonial power; that Russian culture has been a vehicle for nationalist ideologies, both aggressive (promoting territorial expansion) and defensive (protecting national identity); that Russian writers have been complicit in denying voice to colonized and marginalized Others; and that Western commentators, vigilant and censorious with respect to the nationalisms of small countries, have often approved as "universalist" ideological positions that favour the objectives of the world's most powerful nationalisms.

In the case studies that follow, Thompson reads familiar Russian literary texts against the grain, inserting them into the historical contexts that those very texts, she argues, served to render invisible: the contexts of the colonization, repression, defeat, and dispossession of the Russian Empire's subject peoples. Pushkin and Lermontov, in their works on the Caucasus, "manufactured for the Russian textual memory the image of Russia as a stern but just mistress of the area" (p. 60); indeed, Pushkin "set out to create a mute and intellectually deficient Caucasus, recklessly brave in its pointless struggle and ripe for Russian governance" (p. 60). Tolstoi's *War and Peace* "created an image of Russia as a country so benevolent, so free of serious misdeeds and so replete with

splendid citizenry acting in ‘real’ history that it became nearly unthinkable to assail it with fundamental criticism” (p. 86). The novel “treats the main theatre of war against Napoleon—Eastern Europe—as rightfully Russian” (p. 87). Solzhenitsyn, for all his dissident credentials, collaborated with the imperial project in *Cancer Ward*, from which a reader might glean no hint that Tashkent, where the novel is set, is a colonial site, were it not for the condescending representation of the residual Uzbeks (called “Tatars” by a text colonially oblivious to the niceties of ethnic taxonomy). Valentin Rasputin serves the “imperial wish of the Russian elites” by writing “about the *Imperium* as if it were Russia” (p. 130). In *Sibir, Sibir* (1989) Rasputin regards Siberia as “more Russian than Russia itself” (p. 137), whereas Thompson reminds us that Siberia is a conquered territory and to this day meets one of the classical economic definitions of a colony: it is a quarry for exportable raw materials and a dump for metropolitan value-added products. Rasputin even Russifies Siberia’s dire reputation as a place of penal servitude in that he dwells upon the few hundred Decembrists that languished there, but is laconic about the Polish revolutionaries of 1831 and 1863 and altogether silent about the incomparably more numerous Central and East European deportees of 1939–41. The chapter “Scholarship and Empire” discusses the writings of Viktor Shklovsky and Dmitrii Likhachev as fabricating false antiquities for Russian technological and cultural accomplishments to serve an imperial appetite for prestige. These scholarly accommodations Thompson places adjacent to her analysis of Soviet press accounts of the USSR’s annexations under the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. Some contemporary women writers, according to Thompson, write outside of the discursive framework of Russian imperialism. Of these, she names and discusses but one: Liudmila Petrushevskaya, who evokes not control over a colonial expanse, but victimhood in a restricted private space.

Post-colonial criticism is nothing if it is not critical, often stridently, of historical injustice, and Thompson’s book makes no bones about the *ressentiment* that accompanies its arguments, as some of the above quotations make evident. But Thompson’s *ressentiment* is often accompanied by haste, overstatement, and journalistic generalization. Reflections in the introduction on the gendered quality of myths constitutive of national identity are not followed up in the remainder of the book—not even in the last chapter, where the claim that it is in women’s writing that a discourse alternative to that of empire arises is left unelaborated. For a book that makes literature its prime object, *Imperial Knowledge* dedicates relatively little space to the ways in which texts seduce their readers into accepting imperialist values. Thompson focuses attention on the alternative narratives that are *not* inscribed into the texts of the imperial mainstream. A subtle post-colonial reading of such texts would point to the ways in which they “betray” their complicity. Such a reading would insert into them an anti-colonial message that goes against their grain. Thompson, by contrast, condemns the texts for a failure of solidarity with the marginal and dispossessed—that is, for not being other than they are.

It is in keeping with the essayistic flavour of Thompson’s book that she does not necessarily choose to engage with those scholars, admittedly not overwhelmingly numerous, who dealt before her with the issues she raises. Her reflections on the Caucasus in Russian literature, for example, overlook not only Ivan Dziuba’s treatment of the theme in his “*Zastukaly serdeshnu voliu*”: *Shevchenkiv “Kavkaz” na tli nepromynalnoho mynuloho* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1995), but the English-language literature as well, including Susan Layton’s *Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin*

to Tolstoy (Cambridge University Press, 1994). The essayistic dimension of Thompson's book is also evident in such sweeping statements, bristling with assumptions that would need to be carefully justified, as the following: "The nations of the western and southwestern rim of the Russian empire perceived themselves as civilizationally superior to the metropolis. Their psychology as conquered peoples was different from that of the colonial subjects of Britain" (p. 18). What combination of attitudes and convictions, one wonders, is tantamount to perceiving oneself as "civilizationally superior" to another? Who, precisely, needs to have such perceptions for us to be able to say that a "nation" has them? What is the "psychology" of a "people"? Are the terms "nation" and "people" synonymous? Who are these culturally confident "nations of the western rim"? Thompson does not answer these questions. There are places where her claims and formulations seem, frankly, thoughtless, as in the following case: "The Russian language, once spoken throughout the empire, is being replaced by native tongues everywhere except in Belarus. In Ukraine, where a similarity of tongues has caused some confusion, ideological efforts to get rid of the Russian residue were systematically carried out in the 1990s, and they cannot be entirely blamed on Ukrainian chauvinism" (p. 19). The assertions that Russian is being "replaced" "everywhere except in Belarus" and that a language policy to "rid" Ukraine of the "Russian residue" was "systematically" pursued in the 1990s are poorly informed, to put it mildly. What "confusion" allegedly arising out of "similarity of tongues" does Thompson have in mind? Does she seriously regard the relative presence of the Russian language in Ukraine as having been "residual" at any point since Ukraine became independent? Putting aside the mystery of what an "ideological effort," as distinct from an ideologically motivated effort, might be, one would still be compelled to wonder to what extent these alleged efforts should be "blamed" on "Ukrainian chauvinism," if they are not to be blamed on it entirely. Who might the other "blameworthy" parties be? And readers of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* might be especially interested to discover the identities of those representatives of "Ukrainian chauvinism" who influenced Ukrainian government language policies so effectively. Readers should keep in mind, at moments like these, that Ewa Thompson is vigorously opposed to the cultural habits that naturalize imperial domination, for otherwise they might suspect that she herself veers from time to time, wittingly or not, toward the discourse of empire. Such readers might ask why Professor Thomson presents the Ukrainians Mykola Cherniavsky, Oleksandr Korniichuk, and Symon Petliura respectively as Mykola Cherniavskii (p. 169), Aleksandr Korneichuk (p. 173), and Semen Petlura (p. 178); or the writers Kotsiubynsky, Martovych, and Stefanyk as Kotsiubinskii, Martovich, and Stefanuk (p. 178). Guessing that by "Evgen Molaniuk, O. Olzhich, B. Kravtsov, Iu. Lipov" (p. 180) Thompson means Ievhen Malaniuk, Oleh Olzhich, Bohdan Kravtsiv, and Iurii Lypa, readers might wonder why an author alert to the sensitivities of marginalized cultures does not pay the writers belonging to such cultures the courtesy of getting their names right or transliterating them from their own language, rather than that of the colonizing power. They might also ponder the meaning of such phrases as "Lvov (Lviv, Lwów)" (p. 176) and "Kiev (Kyiv)" (p. 180), when they appear in an avowedly post-colonial academic text published in the United States in 2000.

To be fair, Thomson's book has the courage to see its object stripped of the protective mythologies that enshroud it for the majority of observers in Russia and outside it. It is a pity, however, that the authority that might have rested on this vision is frittered

away through looseness, imprecision, and lack of depth. It is one thing to recognize Goliath for Goliath, but quite another to play David convincingly.

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Gerhard Simon, ed. *Die neue Ukraine: Gesellschaft – Wirtschaft – Politik (1991–2001)*. Köln, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2002. 363 pp.

This collection of papers can be considered as the most important publication in German summarizing the developments in Ukraine during its first decade of independence. Thirteen authors, in fourteen articles, cover different aspects of Ukraine's sometimes mysterious, overall not unsuccessful, but certainly also not successful development in the last ten years. Four of the authors are from Ukraine itself: Yaroslav Hrytsak, Oleksii Haran, Myroslav Marynovych, and Ihor Burakovsky. The others are from various Western countries, six of them from Germany. One leitmotif is the legacy of the Soviet Union, another Ukraine's shift away from the West and towards Russia since 2000, and the third the recent slight recovery of Ukraine's economy. A historian reacts to this book in a particular way: although political scientists have discussed recent developments in Ukraine, it is historians who seem to have a deeper insight into them, because history is an ever-present reality in Ukraine.

In the first article Gerhard Simon points out quite clearly Ukraine's success in state building during the last decade. But this success story does not imply that Ukraine is heading towards a liberal democratic state. It could develop just as well into a kind of authoritarian state. Although statehood is no longer questioned either within Ukraine or by her neighbours, Ukrainian post-Communist society has yet to come to terms with the new political order. Most Ukrainians feel marginalized, "subjectively impoverished," and politically unrepresented. Ukraine's poor prospects of becoming a member of the European Union in the near future, on the one hand, and the barely convincing democratic scenarios and political rhetoric in Kyiv, on the other, have led to the recent dilemma in Western policy towards Ukraine and vice versa.

Taras Kuzio is even more sceptical about Ukraine's political situation than I. He notes a lag in state-institution building that hinders national integration and the consolidation of civil society. His definition of civil society, however, may be questioned: I, for one, would not understand it as political or democratic society. The relation between civil society and democracy is more complex. Kuzio regards Ukraine's "third way" as a dead-end street, typical of many weak states, and he believes that it will take strong state efforts to overcome it. Alexander Ott places the referendum of 2000 within the context of the ongoing power struggle between President Kuchma and Parliament. He sees in Kuchma and society a common disdain for Parliament, and he is probably right. In his analysis of federalization and centralization in Ukrainian politics, Oleksii Haran sees a growing integration of the different regions of the country. Traditional ethnic affiliations and political orientations are weakening: in Kharkiv, with its large Russian population,

for example, the Communists lost considerable votes in the 1998 and 1999 elections. But the question of a second, upper chamber, representing the regions, is still open. A new institution of this type could completely change the political landscape in Ukraine. Gwendolyn Sasse gives a rather positive view of Ukrainian policies towards the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. Regionalization does not hinder state building, she argues; it can even successfully oppose a policy of nationalization on an ethnic basis. But in Crimea's case it certainly hindered the economic transformation of the region.

In his article "The Communist Past in the Present," Yaroslav Hrytsak emphasizes the missing Ukrainian *Historikerstreit* about the Communist past. But Ukrainian nation building was a rather ambiguous process in the USSR, and he therefore rejects simplistic positions. He views the Soviet legacy not as something completely foreign or colonial: he detects in it domestic roots, pointing out, for example, that the idea of the Soviet Union as a federal state was in a certain sense more Ukrainian than Russian (p. 37) and congruent, at least to some degree, with the ideas of leftist Ukrainian intellectuals such as Mykhailo Drahomanov (pp. 35-7).

Peter Hilkes from Munich's Osteuropa-Institut, one of the few Western specialists on the Ukrainian educational system and policy, offers a broad overview of the Ukrainianization of the educational system in the context of nation building. He, too, emphasizes the Soviet legacy and brings out the wide gap between the political aim of Ukrainianization, as represented in various laws (for example, the Fundamental Educational Law of 1996), and reality, especially in the countryside. The figures he gives for Ukrainian as the language of instruction in public schools from 1991 through 1998 (based on *Statystychnyi shchorichnyk Ukrayny*), however, show ongoing changes. They are especially apparent in the capital, Kyiv, where in 1991 Ukrainian was the language of instruction in under a third (30.9 percent) of the schools, and by 1998, in 87 percent of the schools (p. 160). Attempts to implement Ukrainian studies programmes in the schools have proved less successful. Hilkes also gives a short overview of various educational societies, such as Prosvita, the All-Ukrainian Women's Society, and the All-Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, and he describes the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and especially the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences as conservative bastions in contemporary Ukraine.

In his chapter on the churches in post-Communist Ukraine, Myroslav Marynovych provides a truly fascinating, realistic insight into Ukrainian mentalities. He discusses the challenge of democracy for the different churches, especially with regard to their acceptance of human rights, which are regarded often as a weapon of the Western churches or of Western missionaries seeking cultural supremacy in Ukraine. Keeping in mind Habermas and his plea for the universality of human rights, it is striking to read Marynovych's citation of Herold Berman in which the latter points out that religious human rights must be grounded not only in universal principles but also in ethnically based value systems, history, and politics (pp. 182-3). I was impressed by the author's fair and frank treatment of the issue of the unity of the Christian churches in Ukraine. Ukrainian society seems to regard religious pluralism primarily as a schism. The churches are rooted in societies: in Ukraine both have to develop new methods of regulating conflicts.

Three papers (by Ihor Burakovsky, Heiko Pleines, and Volkhart Vincentz) deal with the crucial economic developments in Ukraine. The most depressing of them is probably

Pleines's discussion of the energy sector. Economists can get much useful information from the three papers.

To his broad overview of Ukraine-Germany relations Rainer Lindner adds some critical comments on the generally not very flourishing economic relations between the two countries (pp. 304–13). German political relations with Ukraine still tend to depend to a high degree on German-Russian relations. This is a fundamental tendency throughout the twentieth century, although there might be some change in the offing. James Sherr gives an excellent and (especially for the German reader) provocative survey of Ukraine's relations with the West, especially with NATO and the EU. It is one of the best pieces I have read on this topic in recent years. Like Simon's introduction to the volume, Sherr's article is sceptical about progress in this area, at least in the near future. However, he does not blame only Ukraine for the seemingly "failed partnership" between Ukraine and the West, but places much of the responsibility on the EU, calling its initiatives half-measures without enthusiasm and vision (p. 330). He also shows quite convincingly how relations between France, Germany, and Great Britain, on the side, and the United States or Russia, on the other, influence their policies towards Ukraine and the situation within Ukraine. Finally, he points out that for Ukraine "approaching Europe" will mean increasing outside influence on domestic policy, which may not be welcome to the new elite in Kyiv. But there are also new possibilities, and the Ukrainian political elite now has a better grasp of the different interests and structures of NATO and the EU and can develop more pragmatic approaches towards them.

The collection is well edited. It has an index, two maps, a chronological table, and a bibliography of the most important German and English literature on the covered topics. A chapter on cultural developments in Ukraine—for example, on literature—would have been welcome. A book on Russia would certainly have contained one. The German reader may get the false impression that there is no culture in Ukraine, while the reason may lie in the simple fact that there was no specialist on this area at hand.

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Roman Oliinyk-Rakhmanny. *Ideolohichni napriamky v Zakhidnii Ukrainsi (1919–1939 roky)*. Kyiv: Chetverta khvylia, 1999. 231 pp.

From Fedir Pohrebnyk's introduction we learn that this study was completed "several decades ago," when its late author was completing a Master's degree at the University of Toronto (1958) and a doctoral degree at the University of Montreal (1962). After that the author worked as an editor of periodicals such as *Suchasnist* and *Novi dni* and was best known as a political journalist and essayist. The value of the present work lies in the fact that it fills a void in scholarship. Since Ukraine's independence, the interwar literature of Polish-governed Western Ukraine has attracted renewed interest, but few monographs on the subject have appeared. Oliinyk presents a welcome overview of the Western Ukrainian literary groups, their literary and ideological positions, and their most prominent writers and critics.

The author singles out five groups, which he calls the nationalists, Sovietophiles, constructivists, liberals, and Catholics. These groupings clustered around the following journals: *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* and *Visnyk*, *Vikna* and *Novi shliakhy*, *My, Nazustrich*, and *Dzvony* respectively. Since the author is interested primarily in ideology and literary programs, he pays most attention to the critics and polemicists of each camp. Three chapters are devoted to Dmytro Dontsov, the chief ideologist of the nationalists, but Mykhailo Rudnytsky's defence of liberal ideas in *Nazustrich*, Iurii Lypa's writings in *My*, Stepan Tudor's pro-Soviet views, and Mykola Hnatyshak's articles in *Dzvony* are also discussed. Oliinyk shows how Lypa and Ievhen Malaniuk moved away from Dontsov in the 1930s, how outstanding writers like Bohdan Ihor Antonych and Natalena Koroleva became associated with the Catholic camp, and how Stepan Hordynsky, Iryna Vilde, and Iurii Kosach came to gravitate toward *Nazustrich*. The account presents a number of quotations, and the appendix contains several key statements from the last two camps.

Oliinyk brings out the pull of interrelated but often contradictory impulses and requirements demanded of literature: the "nationalist" desideratum that heroic, strong-willed characters be portrayed, the "liberal" demand for literary artistry, and the "Catholic" prescription that writers teach the readers certain moral values. The book carefully and clearly plots the course of this debate and its relation to issues discussed in Soviet Ukraine at the time.

One of the main drawbacks of the account is the lack of almost any analysis of the literary works themselves, which might be used to demonstrate the success or failure of the various programs thrust upon writers. Also, the uncritical presentation of Dontsov's views is rather surprising. Almost no secondary literature is brought to bear on the analysis of this figure, who has always been controversial, particularly in his pronouncements concerning literature and his use of literary works to project a political message. Oliinyk was surely familiar with the devastating critique of Dontsov's literary criticism by Iurii Sherekh in the latter's *Dumky proty techii* (Neu Ulm, 1948). Finally, it should be mentioned that all critical materials used, and in fact almost all bibliographical entries, are dated no later than 1960.

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Books Received

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б—b	ї—i	у—u
в—v	ÿ—i	ф—f
г—h	к—k	х—kh
ґ—g	л—l	ц—ts
д—d	м—m	ч—ch
е—e	н—n	ш—sh
є—ie	օ—o	щ—shch
ж—zh	ռ—p	յ—iu
з—z	ր—r	յ—ia
и—y	ս—s	յ—omit
		ий—y in endings of personal names only.

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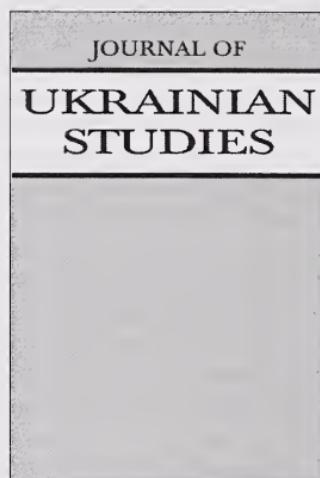
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